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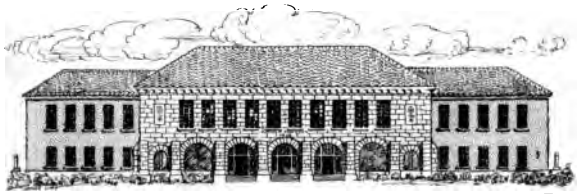

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A THEORY OF MOTIVES, IDEALS, AND VALUES IN EDUCATION

A THEORY OF MOTIVES IDEALS AND VALUES IN EDUCATION

BY

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"There is no darkness but ignorance."
SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*
Act IV, Sc. ii

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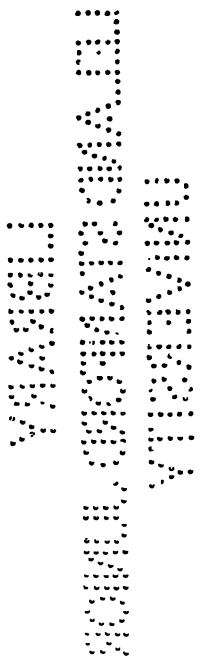

PREFACE

In this book I have undertaken that most difficult of all intellectual tasks, — to determine the values of the activities and of the ideals of men. In this task, many men engage themselves more or less seriously; poets, philosophers, statesmen, historians, men of affairs, gossips, cynics, idlers; and all fail. Yet no critic is competent to measure the extent of their failures. If, however, the practical educator would lift his own work out of empiricism and traditionalism into the freedom and reasonableness of philosophy, he must undertake this task.

The immediate influences upon me have been of two kinds: the practical experiences of a working superintendent and the academic associations of a university lecturer. The true substratum, the bedrock of the book is not science or art, but a faith that seems to me warranted by history as well as by philosophy and necessitated by the nature of the human mind, — that this life is, to use the frequent phrase of Carlyle, "but a little gleam between two eternities." I am well aware of the place of this opinion in the history of philosophy. But only such an opinion, true or false, it seems to me, can justify true seriousness of thought or of conduct in life. It warrants the saying of Emerson, "I am to see to it that the world is better for me, and to find my reward in the act," — my reward being the irreversible education of an eternal soul.[1] I cannot accept the opinion of Matthew Arnold,

> "Hath man no second life?
> Pitch this one high;"[2]

for the conclusion seems a *non sequitur* from the premise, and the premise itself false. I hold life one.

Obviously in every progressive age there must be a

[1] *Man, the Reformer.* [2] *Poems*, "Anti-Desperation."

"new education," for the progress of humanity is conditioned by the better development of the new generation. A static education is both cause and effect of a static civilization. I use these terms very loosely, for it may fairly be questioned whether education is not in its very nature dynamic, and whether a civilization must not always be either progressive or decadent; but as thus used the terms deliver my meaning. Nothing can be more false than the notion that a civilization may advance while its educational phase remains *in statu quo*. Yet this false notion is the very substance of most of the opposition, whether popular or professional, to "the new education."

It becomes, therefore, a part of my obligation to discuss civilization, success, education, and progress, for until the terms are defined, neither agreement nor conclusion, neither satisfaction nor enlightenment is possible. I must, of course, take for granted certain matters, for education is not a basic science, but rather one that utilizes as its own postulates the conclusions of other sciences. Indeed, by some, the proposition that education is a science is challenged. In this book, I do not discuss these postulates, though I state and, in some instances, illustrate them.

The philosophy of education is not quite synonymous with the science of teaching, and the profession of education is not at all coterminous with the art. Teaching is artistic; education architectural, architectonic. From want of this distinction, there have been confusion and conflict. This distinction I draw, following it with various conclusions and applications that appear pertinent to the needs and conditions of this American democracy.

The references will, I trust, sufficiently display my obligations to those who have gone before me. Many principles and notions here repeated seem to be too much the general property of mankind to justify mention of

their last or most elaborate account; and some have come to me in periodicals or in conversation in such fashion that I am unable to identify their sources. As far as possible, I have avoided topics treated by myself in other books; but where an argument has seemed essential to my theory, I have not hesitated to repeat at least the outline.

From what I know of educational theory and practice, it seems that this book has five features of significance:

1. The assertion of the universal rather than the mediate place and value of education, as an integral social institution.

2. The presentation in a hierarchical form of the evidences of education as its successively higher ideals.

3. The discovery of the true relations of motives, values, and ideals by arranging these terms logically.

4. The emphasis of the philosophic spirit underlying and establishing the modern course of study and mode of administration.

5. The development of a system based upon the proposition of the necessity of the complete education of each and of all.

I have sought not to substantiate, but to demonstrate these principles and their corollaries. I believe not that these should be the principles of education, but that they are the principles, for I look upon education as a science whose truths are certain to be discovered by observation, experimentation, and verification. Of course, if these simple principles are the real truth, then we can construct scientifically and easily the appropriate machinery of educational practice, redeem the schools from their present overloading, confusion, and routinism, and restore education to its purpose, which is to educate men and women. True education is indifferent as to what particular things its graduates know, but sensitive in every fibre to what they are and can do.

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EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

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A THEORY OF MOTIVES, IDEALS, AND VALUES IN EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF EDUCATION

Where no vision is, the people is made naked. — *Proverbs* xxix, 18 (alternative reading).

And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely. — JOHN, *Revelation* xxii, 17.

In the dialectic of personal growth, the development of self-consciousness proceeds by a two-fold relation of give-and-take between the individual and his social fellows. . . . Both *ego* and *alter* are thus essentially social; each is a *socius*, and each is an imitative creation. — BALDWIN, *Mental Development: Social and Ethical Interpretations*, pp. 512, 519.

To educate is to lead forth, to guide forward. But what is to be led or guided? And from whence? In what direction is forward? Who should lead, and who be led? And when? By what means, and by what methods? These questions are to be answered by educational theory before the answer may be demonstrated in educational practice.

In the familiar illustration of the Cave,[1] Plato represents men as "living in a kind of underground den that has an opening toward the light. Chained so that they cannot turn their heads, they see only their shadows, or the shadows of one another, which the fire above and behind them throws on the opposite wall of the cave." Occasionally, one is freed from his chains. At first, such an one does not know whether the shadows or the other men themselves are real. When this one goes out into the world, the sun, moon, stars, and earth astonish him; and he wonders that he ever could

[1] Plato, *The Republic*, 515.

have enjoyed the cave. Should he return thither, the cavemen will despise him because, with the loss of familiarity, he will have lost skill in the ways of the cave. But he himself will know that the outer world is the true world and will always desire to dwell there. Such is an interpretation of life that education may derive from philosophy.

Education is applicable to whosoever is educable. To say that education is impossible in a particular instance is to say that the creature is not educable, is indocile, is incapable of growth. A good man would hesitate to affirm this of any conscious living thing. Of any human being not educable, he speaks with sorrow, using with the utmost hesitation such terms as "feeble-minded," "imbecile," "idiot," and "incorrigible," and trying to think and to act upon the theory that there is no absolute idiocy. A complete system of therapeutics has been built upon the theory that even the insane may be redeemable and educable. To say, as some do carelessly, that education is "finished," is to display ignorance or forgetfulness of the nature of education.

It is the conscious creature alone that is educable. The stone may be cut and carved: this is not education. The tree may be transplanted, grafted, or bent: none of these operations is education. The oyster may be improved by proper planting and feeding; but this improvement is not education. Certain insects, however, may be educated. In many instances, birds, beasts, and fishes have been educated to considerable degrees of larger and more conscious thought and action. The higher, the stronger, the larger the conscious life of a creature, the greater is its educability. In the case of man, the educability of an individual seems to be quite as much a matter of the skill of the educator as of the quality of the pupil. The limit of the education of a man of talents seems usually to be rather in his oppor-

tunities than in himself. The genius [1] is he whose education is self-originated and transcends the quality of his instruction. The larger, the more intense, the fuller, and the clearer the presentations in consciousness, and the vaster, the saner, and the more reliable the subconsciousness, the more nearly may perfect education be attained.[2] It is true, of course, that the finite as such can never be perfectly educated. Individuality sets its own limitations. To know everything, to feel everything, to will everything; to mirror the world; to represent perfection: these are beyond the goals of the finite creature. To run well the race of the mortal; this is enough. God cannot ask the mortal to return more than He gives him; but so much as He has given God may ask. And no man may say how much God has given.

Of mortal man, there is the carnal, and there is the spiritual. The body is the temple of the soul.[3] Spirit wars with flesh.[4] The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.[5] In respect to this apparent duality of man, the purposes of education are to make the body a satisfactory, that is, healthy, obedient, and skillful, instrument of the spirit; to give the spirit all possible freedom from the body, its functions, duties, needs, weaknesses, lusts, joys, and pains;[6] to keep the body alive as long as the spirit may use it as a fair habitation; and to release the spirit from the body undefiled by it

[1] Baldwin, *Mental Development: Social and Ethical Interpretations*, chapter v.

[2] Jastrow, *Psychology of the Unconscious*.

[3] 1 *Corinthians* vi, 19. A saying of Paul's.

[4] *Galatians* v, 17. A teaching of Paul's.

[5] Matthew xxvi, 41. A saying of Jesus'.

[6] "Let a man be of good cheer about his soul, who has cast away the pleasures and ornaments of the body as foreign to him, and has followed after the pleasures of knowledge in this life, and who has adorned the soul in her own proper jewels, — temperance and justice and courage and nobility and truth." Plato (Socrates), *Phædo*.

and ready and eager for the opportunities of the life to come.[1]

Evidently, then, the soul, which is spirit at once conscious and self-conscious, is to be educated, and the body is to be trained. The final education of the soul is its release from the body.[2] Mere physical growth brings the human being from infancy to maturity; and the brain of the man appears to be a better instrument for his soul than was the brain of the child.[3] Such growth effects of itself a partial release of the soul from the body.

For reasons inscrutable to man, it appears that the purpose of human life in respect to the spirit is to inform it by giving it knowledge. The spirit is incarnated and thereby becomes soul. A soul, then, is spirit, living in the flesh and become conscious of its isolation from other spirit. Incidentally, the purpose of education is to inform the soul by giving it systematic experience. In this sense, education is the salvation or redemption of the soul, which is its restoration to pure spirit.[4]

[1] "Deliberate and foresee the end: examine whether passion tend to that which will be approvable when it is past. The sinful passions are blind and are moved only by things present. They cannot endure the sight of the time to come." Coit, after Richard Baxter, *Christian Ethics*, p. 261.

[2] "He has outsoared the shadow of our night.
Envy and calumny and hate and pain,
And that unrest which men miscall delight,
Can touch him not, and torture not again.
From the contagion of the world's slow stain
He is secure."

Shelley, *Adonais*.

[3] The educator need not answer in terms the metaphysical questions whether the soul itself grows, whether the body is such an instrument as actually helps the growth of the soul, and whether the body conditions the soul. Strong, *Why the Mind has a Body*, pp. 336–348.

[4] The theological and religious implications of this principle are obvious. No human culture has neglected to consider them. See Hall, *Adolescence: its Psychology*, chapter x, for the history of the soul. Arnett, "The Soul: Past and Present Beliefs," *Journal of Psychology*, April, July, 1904.

To say that it is the purpose of education to acquaint the individual with Nature and human society is to assign as a purpose what is philosophically but a means or at best a method; or else to assign as a purpose of education what is really but a purpose of instruction. These propositions must be true, unless we conceive individual man as ephemeral and man the race or human society as paramount. Man, the physical race, is demonstrably not eternal or immortal. It is inconceivable that sun, earth, mankind as such will last forever. But it is not inconceivable that the individual is immortal or eternal or that one may achieve immortality, which is not necessarily to suppose that, retaining personality, one may achieve infinity, universality, eternity. Shut in, therefore, by the inexorable logic of the human status, to save for one's self the ideal of the worth of effort, one must regard the individual as of greater value than society or the race itself. This brings us to the conclusion that the purpose of education is not the welfare of humanity, but the progress of the individual.[1] Fortunately for the cause of education, considered as a social institution, this apparently metaphysical conclusion is sustained by common sense, for a society composed wholly of fully educated individuals would be ideal, and a society blessed by the activities of though but a few nobly educated individuals is enlightened by a quality of genius transcending all the possibilities of any quantity of lesser talents. Entire ages and nations, all the world and all time, glow with the beauty of the truth seen and

[1] To achieve eternal life is an ideal not less broadening than that to achieve social efficiency. By as much as eternity transcends society, and immortality sociality, by so much does the individual transcend mankind. This raises without answering the question whether body and soul are not both, as products of this particular universe, and as conditions of one another, incapable of being related in thought to eternity and infinity as expressed in any other universe.

taught by Buddha, Moses, Confucius, Socrates, Jesus, Paul, Augustine, Dante, Kant, Emerson.

"Great men are the fire pillars in this dark pilgrimage of mankind: they stand as everlasting witnesses of what has been, prophetic tokens of what still may be, the revealed, embodied possibilities of human nature."[1]

The soul is to be developed out of the ignorance, the weakness, and the errors of childhood into full maturity, and sustained therein till freed from the body by death. Its development is outward, a revelation, a disclosure, an expression. But as the soul develops, it infolds knowledge, ideals, hopes, gathered out of the world. The larger the soul grows, the more it includes. Its sympathies and passions, its joys and griefs, its facts, laws, values, its truths, standards, principles, its motives, desires, purposes, increase, take on organization, resolve themselves with every new experience. The outer man grows larger, the inner man more full and perfect.[2] He centres himself upon conscience, whose still, small voice is an echo, as it were, of the voice of God: he radiates into the universe of Nature, and there likewise finds God.[3]

But shall the child, the youth, the man, educate himself? The Maker of worlds has not so ordered this world and this humanity. The spirit is not to be left in its confusion alone in a strange body upon this new earth as a being lost, helpless, unbefriended. The soul

[1] Goethe, *Schiller*.

[2] "Century by century the educating process of the social life has been working at human nature; it has built itself into our inmost soul. Conscience — the sense of right and wrong — springs out of the habit of judging things from the point of view of all and not of one." Clifford, *Ethics of Religion*, *Essays*, p. 383.

[3] "The voice of conscience is the voice of our Father Man who is within us; the accumulated instinct of the race is poured into each one of us, and overflows us, as if the Ocean were poured into a cup." Clifford, *Decline of Religious Belief*, p. 391.

finds itself surrounded by other and older souls, lest it die.[1] The entire process before and after birth is a provision for the circumstancing, supporting, sheltering, nurturing, and befriending of the soul. And never was this more true than at the present age in America, for all the institutions of society are wrought together to protect the new soul in its adventures in this strange world. The womb, the mother, the home, the church, the school, all speak one truth. We prolong infancy for the one purpose of enriching the human being.[2] Whatever works to the injury of the child from conception to maturity is contrary to the design of Nature and of human nature; and appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, it is occasional and exceptional. It is an evil tending to destroy humanity; and to this time, all evils, however many, however great, have been, though able to stay, yet unable to stop, the progress and the multiplication of mankind.

In the environment of childhood and youth, by far the most important feature is the society of persons. In this society of persons, two classes are of paramount importance, the parents and the teachers, both of whom work upon the child with intent and with greater or less deliberateness. The whole tradition of the race with respect to childhood is the necessity of developing it or of developing manhood or womanhood out of it.[3] The tradition is against a natural maturity, that is, against a manhood or womanhood uninfluenced by the deliberate labors of older persons. The street gamin of the city, the boy hermit of the country, every isolated child, is

[1] "At birth, the child is tossed like a shipwrecked mariner upon a strange and unknown coast." Hall, *Adolescence*, p. 5.

[2] Fiske, *A Century of Science*, chapter iv; Butler, *Meaning of Education*, pp. 6–17; Charlotte Gilman, *Woman and Economics*, *passim;* Terman, *Journal of Psychology*, 1905, April, "Precocity and Prematuration."

[3] Mathews, *Proceedings Amer. Philos. Soc.;* Spencer-Gillan, *Central Australian Tribes.*

believed to be on the way to making a criminal or a lunatic. Men humanize each new man.

The parents are the natural and predestined educators of children, the teachers are their chosen and voluntary educators. As civilization grows in difficulty and in complexity, the popular requirements of teachers grow constantly greater. This is due not only to the fact that the items and the mass of inherited culture constantly increase,—a heritage that imposes upon the individual an undeniable servitude, — but also to the fact that the powers of the individual must be developed more and more for his own preservation in civilization and for the preservation of that civilization itself. *One cause of the failure, final and hitherto inevitable, of every civilization has been the inability of Nature to bring to birth, and of the civilization to develop, a sufficient number of persons competent for its tasks.* The problem of education, conceived as a social institution, is to produce for "the work of the world" at least as much from its raw material as that work needs. This work of the world is not merely "the hewing of wood and the drawing of water." It is providing for humanity more than food and clothes, homes, shops, factories, and mines. A purely material civilization, however many its luxuries, almost because of its marvelous luxuries, would have no consistency; could never be established; if suddenly created, would not last a day. A hundred and twenty years ago France, and in our own times Russia, disintegrated in murderous revolution for want of generally diffused intellectual and moral culture. The poet is as much a necessity to a great civilization as is the business man or the legislator; ay, and more of a necessity.

"We are the music makers,
And we are the dreamers of dreams,
Wandering by lone sea-breakers,
And sitting by desolate streams;

World-losers and world-forsakers,
On whom the pale moon gleams:
Yet we are the movers and shakers
Of the world forever, it seems.

"With wonderful deathless ditties
We build up the world's great cities,
And out of a fabulous story
We fashion an empire's glory:
One man with a dream, at pleasure,
Shall go forth and conquer a crown:
And three with a new song's measure
Can trample a kingdom down.

"We, in the ages lying
In the buried past of the earth,
Built Nineveh with our sighing,
And Babel itself in our mirth;
And o'erthrew them with prophesying
To the old of the new world's worth;
For each age is a dream that is dying,
Or one that is coming to birth."[1]

Every civilization requires a certain amount of economic burden to steady it; a leisure class is as necessary as are the various industrial classes.[2] This leisure class, however, must be a working and not an idling class. Every leisure class is always perilously near its own destruction. The true leisure class is a reservoir, often a well-spring, of true culture. It makes scholarship possible. It protects ethics. It standardizes morals. It reflects, criticises, evaluates, appreciates, and encourages whatever is good in the world. It knows sympathy and has time and disposition to manifest the graces of social and personal life. It works, though indeed it may work upon things at present invisible. Many an economic parasite is a moral or cultural paragon: many such a parasite has built for the economic life of future society.

[1] Arthur O'Shaughnessy.

[2] *Vide* Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, *passim*; Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Economics*, chapter xiii; *Statistics and Sociology*, p. 206.

This is a hard doctrine, resented in many quarters, resented by nearly every economic worker who hears it and has time to think of it. Because of their resentment against those who may give their whole life to leisure, there is a defensive and reactionary disposition in certain quarters to declare that economic laborers shall have no leisure at all. But this conclusion is distinctly a *non sequitur*. The familiar notion of such as Tolstoi, that in an ideal society all will work as producers of economic goods or as servants of such producers part of the time, and have leisure for the rest, is a merely mechanical view. This view ignores one of the great qualities of a civilized society, — its power to store up goods, scholarship, traditions, arts, culture, against the future. A civilized society does not live from hand to mouth, no, nor by a year at a time; but it lives centuries beyond its economic working period, as Rome and France lived. If a man may work mornings and enjoy economic leisure afternoons; if he may work six days and rest the seventh; if he may work winters and rest summers or work summers and rest winters; if he may support his children in the economic idleness of school-going; if he may, and indeed ought to, lay up a store "against the rainy days" of invalidism, old age, accident, and illness; if he can ever earn the right to travel for recreation and for intellectual and moral improvement; if he has a right to the mere society of his fellow men in hours, days, and seasons when neither he nor they are bearing the burdens of active labor, — and all these things are part and parcel of civilization, — then of right the man is entitled to leisure. The other questions — how he is to be supported in his leisure; whether a child may or may not be rightfully or wisely given, by inheritance or by other social favor, a leisure that he (or she) has not earned; whether the leisure class is or is not too large, too secure, too luxurious — do not concern us here as critics

of education. We may well sympathize with the plaint, —

> "And these all, laboring for a lord,
> Eat not the fruit of their own hands,
> Which is the heaviest of all plagues
> To that man's mind who understands."[1]

But we must recognize the fact that in every civilized society there must be some who eat bread in the sweat of other men's faces; whose obligation is to return tenfold to their souls. Education must prepare for the noblest social services of leisure, deserved or justified, if not actually earned.

But education finds its larger responsibility in bringing the economic workers, hitherto spoiled more or less wantonly of most of the benefits of civilization, to their highest possible state, redeeming them in their economic labor to become co-workers with all others in government, in religion, and in every other social activity.

When should education begin its work of perfecting the sons and daughters of men? This question can be answered only by modern physiology and psychology. It is scarcely approvable that education by schooling should be begun before the child is seven years old; but occasional education by suggestions, play, story-telling, and unwatched voluntary manual exercises may be beneficial before that time. A real garden of children is greatly to be desired wherever children congregate; but the formal kindergarten may be maintained at the price of passivity, anæmia, brain-lesions, dullness, arrest of development, and consequent failure of life and in life. And the formal common school also is too often responsible for similar wrongs.[2]

When should education cease its work of perfecting men and women? Once more we must go to physiology

[1] Matthew Arnold, *Sick Man of Bokhara*.

[2] Harris, *Psychological Foundations of Education*, p. 142.

and to psychology for our answers. While the brain and the nervous system are able properly to sustain continuous, directed, exacting mental, manual, and other organic effort before seven years of age, seldom are they able to sustain such effort after sixty years of age; and seldom do the character and mind of an individual display any improvement from direct educational effort after forty years of age. In the old, motives, ideals, judgments function so persistently that the traditions of society are conserved. Moreover, these older persons are able to devote most of their time and nearly all of their energy to industrial effort, thus bearing the world of humanity upon their shoulders.[1] Youth generates ideas; genius, persisting in youth, devises many inventions; thereby youth and genius dower society with opportunities of progress, while age, proving all things, holds fast to that of the old which appears good. Perhaps age rejects too much of the new that is good; but the fault is remediable by larger education of individuals and consequently of society.

For most mankind, these educable ages of forty to sixty are much too high, even with all the improvement in physique resulting from modern hygiene: educational courses usually are too severe for the brain of the man of forty or of the woman of thirty-five, and valueless for the character of the man or of the woman several years before that time. In this respect, the mental life runs a course equal and parallel with the physical. Man appears to be educable by formal processes for some thirty years; that is, capable of development beyond the norm that may be attained without education by mere sufficiency of food, warmth, shelter, sleep, and exercise. But man is most educable in the earlier half of this period; and the climactic years of educability may be assigned as in primary adolescence from fourteen to twenty in males

[1] Shaler, *The Individual*, p. 269.

of the Teutonic race and from thirteen to eighteen in females. Though there may be much learning after this period, the ideas acquired do not function later as efficiently in the modes of motives, habits, ideals,[1] and judgments as do those acquired before the brain structure is finished and the adolescent ferment has subsided; while ideas acquired before ten or twelve years of age are too insecure, perhaps partly from physiological or anatomical causes,[2] but no doubt mainly from lack of experience (in other words, scarcity and vagueness of ideas), to remain the permanent and dominant possessions of the mind.[3]

Mere economic tradition and self-interest must not blind us to the fact that the half-dozen years of secondary adolescence, from twenty to twenty-five, are quite as valuable for "conscious evolution"[4] as are the half-dozen years before primary adolescence, which the fashion of American democracy has arbitrarily, complacently, and wantonly chosen for "compulsory education."[5]

There is, it seems, a serious general misconception of the purpose of adolescent education. No physiologist or psychologist wonders at the success of the thousands of "self-made" men who have learned to read, to write, and to cipher after being "grown up," that is, at eighteen or twenty years of age. Lincoln did his high school work with a teacher as a tutor after he had become a member of the legislature of Illinois, and benefited by that education:[6] his experience was not unusual, but typical. No physiologist or psychologist wonders at the failure of the thousands of high school and college educated men who never appreciated or soon forgot their "advantages." Truth cannot be set solidly into plastic

[1] Bagley, *The Educative Process*, chapters thus entitled.
[2] Donaldson, *Growth of the Brain*, chapter iv.
[3] Hall, *Adolescence*, first three chapters.
[4] Davidson, *History of Education*, preface.
[5] "The Educational Outlook," *Journal of Pedagogy*, July, 1905.
[6] Curtis, *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 62–63.

minds; before eighteen or twenty, all minds are plastic, or should be. The full period of secondary adolescence, from twenty to twenty-eight in men and from eighteen to twenty-five in women, is the right or best time for marriage, for the sufficient reason that docility or adjustability is still active, though declining, while the body is growing in strength, in weight, and in vigor. Monogamic marriage, indeed, is the latest important historical mode of education for man and for woman alike, and parentage is the final genetic process in the normal schooling of humanity.[1]

By what means and by what methods shall teachers proceed to educate childhood, youth, and young manhood and womanhood? Obviously by such as in theory and in practice have resulted in the best, the most nobly educated, men and women. Who have been, who are, these best and noblest men and women? What means and what methods did their teachers employ to develop their qualities, to bring their powers to fruition, to produce in them sweetness and light,[2] sympathy and virtue, wisdom and power? The answer is the tale of biography since the record of individual lives began. We know that certain men and women have been, must have been, well educated: by their fruits, we know them.[3] They have met the standard of universal morals; they have manifested the ideals of an abundant and aspiring life.[4] Not one of them was perfect; but some were flawless, sinless, just and fair in a noble sincerity, of whom Socrates was the type. To these ten thousand of the "just men made perfect,"[5] from Moses to Lincoln, we must look for the ideals of education and for the methods

[1] Libby, "Shakespeare's Treatment of Adolescence," *Pedagogical Seminary;* Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, vol. iii, pp. 244–259.

[2] Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*.

[3] Matthew vii, 20. A saying of Jesus'.

[4] John x, 10. "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly" (overflowingly, περισσόν), a saying of Jesus'.

[5] Paul, *Hebrews* xii, 23.

of reaching or approximating these ideals. "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect," seems an impossible requirement.[1] Men should be perfectly prepared for this life that now is, just as God is perfectly able to live wholly His life.

The means by which the best of earth were prepared for their lives have varied more in appearance than in reality. The good and great have known both society and solitude. The one makes and tests character, the other intelligence. A good man cannot grow alone upon a desert island; nor can a great man grow in the throng of the crowded street. Emerson and Goethe are the teachers of a true wisdom; but the opinion of neither is completely true. Moses, Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed, each withdrew into the mountains and into the wildernesses "to pray."

> "True dignity abides with him alone
> Who, in the silent hour of inward thought,
> Can still suspect and still revere himself
> In lowliness of heart."[2]

Great and good men have ever loved the silences; but they have also dared, must dare, the market-places with their many voices. In the dialectic of mental growth, we go forward by zigzag from experiences to reflection and back again to experiences; and the most important of our experiences are those with men. When Tennyson asked, —

> "Is it well that while we range with Science, glorying in the Time,
> City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime?"[3]

he was perhaps too gloomy, and presented eloquently what should be considered with the cooler judgment of

[1] Matthew v, 48. The word τέλειος, translated here "perfect," means complete, as in the case of the newborn babe, ready for this world, perfect of its kind. The goal of the babe, which is birth, has been attained. The word does not mean perfect in the sense of final, ended.

[2] Wordsworth, *Poems written in Youth*, *Lines*, p. 33, Boston, 1854.

[3] *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After*.

psychology. The senses of children are indeed soaked and sodden by the too many and too intense sensations of the city street; and souls are drowned there by sense-suffocation. The soul is bleached rather than blackened in the cavernous city, whose life, to those really knowing and understanding it, is rather quicksand than slime. It is true that the children of the tenements seldom grow into men and women of many talents. Lacking these, they remain poor. Yet how rich in the powers and graces of character are these tenement-poor! Is it not sadly true that the children of the isolated country districts seldom grow into men and women of equally philanthropic character? The inability of the country-bred youth to resist the temptations of city life is familiar to every observer.

What Wordsworth wrote, —

> "The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers," [1]

is an impulse moving in the soul of every man who seeks the wilderness that he may recover himself from civilization. Of course, one may find solitude in a city room, and companionship upon the moor. The aphorism of Goethe must not be taken too literally.[2] Emerson expressed the truth in this compact paragraph, —

"Here again, as so often, Nature delights to put us between extreme antagonisms, and our safety is in the skill with which we keep the diagonal line. Solitude is impracticable, and Society fatal. We must keep our heads in the one and our hands in the other. The conditions are met, if we keep our independence, yet do not lose our sympathy. These wonderful horses need to be driven by fine hands. We require such a solitude as shall hold us to its revelations when we are in the street and in palaces: for most men are cowed in society, and say good things to you in private, but will not stand to them in public. But let us not be the victims of words.

[1] *Miscellaneous Sonnets*, 1836.

[2] *Legend*, Part Three, p. 201, *infra*.

Society and solitude are deceptive names. It is not the circumstance of seeing more or fewer people, but readiness of sympathy, that imports; and a sound mind will derive its principles from insight, with ever a purer ascent to the sufficient and absolute right, and will accept society as the natural element in which they are to be applied." [1]

The school (σχολή, leisure) is partly a matter of society (*collegium*, bringing together) and partly a matter of solitude in study (*studium*, effort). The school is the typical means of the teacher in his effort to educate the pupil. The school is perhaps too much a matter of the crowd.[2] Rousseau, Locke, and Mark Hopkins all considered education a process for the society of but two, the teacher and the learner. We do not accept this ideal, pitying quite as much the lone pupil of tutor or governess as the distracted pupil of the crowded, factoryized public school class with its overburdened instructor. Our ideal is part study and reflection in solitude, part individual instruction by the teacher, part class recitation.

Fortunate is the child or youth who may visit the lonely seacoast, the secluded forest, for weeks at a time in each year. There he may learn what Wordsworth, Bryant, Thoreau knew of the lessons of Nature.

> "Oh, there is not lost
> One of earth's charms: upon her bosom yet,
> After the flight of untold centuries,
> The freshness of her far beginning lies,
> And yet shall lie." [3]

One who has known the varied glories of the natural world, who has seen perhaps through the eyes of some scientist, poet, philosopher, a part of the truth, knows a reserve, a poise, a health of the soul that should preserve him sweet and innocent in the thick of humanity;

[1] Emerson, *Society and Solitude*, final paragraph.
[2] Bryan, *The Basis of Practical Teaching*, chapter i.
[3] Bryant, *A Forest Hymn*.

but only the world itself can teach him to be strong. Nature is like food; society like exercise. Fortunate is that youth who, knowing Nature, has been severely tried among men.

> "If the chosen soul could never be alone
> In deep mid-silence, open-doored to God,
> No greatness ever had been dreamed or done;
> Among dull hearts, a prophet never grew;
> The nurse of full-grown souls is solitude.
> . . . . . .
> And who hath trod Olympus, from his eye
> Fades not that broader outlook of the gods;
> His life's low valleys overbrow earth's clouds.
> . . . . . .
> He in the palace-aisles of untrod woods
> Doth walk a king; for him the pent-up cell
> Widens beyond the circles of the stars,
> And all the sceptred spirits of the past
> Come thronging in to greet him as their peer;
> But in the market-place's glare and throng
> He sits apart, an exile, and his brow
> Aches with the mocking memory of its crown."[1]

Even in early years, one may discern the truth declared by Carlyle, Ruskin, and Lowell, that society dries and seasons the soul as the kiln dries and seasons the wood from the forest.

In the education of a man, there are many elements. We may collect some of them in the term Nature, and the rest in the term Human Nature. Or we may employ the terms Sciences, Arts, and Humanities. Again, all knowledge and all experience may be comprised within the terms Philosophy and History. Names often reflect methods, sometimes dictate them. For educational purposes, the method makes or mars the subject.

Studies and exercises in public elementary schools are sometimes classified as Essentials and Non-essentials. These very terms demonstrate a utilitarian philosophy. High school

[1] Lowell, *Columbus*.

courses are sometimes classified as Classical, Scientific, Technical, Commercial. These terms betray traditionalism, juxtapositing, accident, abject surrender to present opinion. A secondary pupil is said to "study Latin" for four or five years, a phrase that tells the pedagogical fact of grammar above thought, form above spirit. Still worse is the classification of disciplinary and informational subjects. These abortive terms disclose a mode of teaching that evidences not pedagogy or even methodology, but pseudo-philosophy. Yet this false philosophy, in defiance not only of modern psychology and of all common sense, but also of the old psychology of the intellect (which every teacher has been supposed to know, whether applying it or not), has prevailed very generally, and has driven more boys and girls out of school than all other causes, — social, economic, or whatever else, — severally or taken together. The tale of arithmetic and the tale of grammar in the elementary schools have recited the ruin of two perfect subjects by drill. Every genuinely educational method involves concurrently information and habituation.

The true analysis of knowledge for the purposes of education comports with the analysis of the presentation of thought in consciousness. In that presentation, I receive the sensation with a chorus of half-sensations, like echoes or overtones of a true note; while I, who receive it, am flooded with memories and imaginings from the past. The new sensation marks the present. It is a verity, without a history. In education, each fact is to be presented vividly, or not at all. It becomes a present or a presented fact, without a history. For the purposes of education, every presented fact should conform to some philosophy. Unless essential in substance or in process to the education of the person receiving it, the fact, truth, principle, is foreign, inapplicable, and to be rejected. For the purposes of education, every fact used must belong properly and logically to the essentials. In education, Nature becomes subjective and wholly subordinate to human nature. Of course,

this is true philosophically, though scientists and practical persons sometimes like to forget it: scouting idealism, they fail in sound psychology.[1] Indubitably, the mind conditions, colors, and moulds whatever it discerns. The question of the learner, What is the use of knowing this? may be unanswerable to him or by him; but it must rouse in the mind of the teacher the correlative question, What is the use of teaching this? This question the teacher must answer before proceeding farther lest in this respect he fail of being truly an educator.

As for the distinctions of the Arts, the Sciences, and the Humanities, a chief article in the creed of every true scientist seems to be correctness in system,[2] and of every true artist, perfect accord with fact.[3] The humanitarian seeks for himself, his enterprise, his principle, social values; and the societarian desires to lead men to truth, to beauty, and to goodness, respectively the ideals of the Sciences, the Arts, and the Humanities. For the purposes of education, we must preserve the wholeness, or at least the correlations, of knowledge.

Because education is a system of successive efforts to effect presentations in consciousness, and there to affect their constitution, it must concern itself with me, the conscious being. Only in this sense is education influenced by history as such. The educator, as the maker of states of consciousness that are not accidental or incidental or occasional, but purposive and often sys-

[1] The argument in the text is not for idealism, but for some theory, any reasonable theory, that fairly accounts for the mutual interrelations of body and soul. Cf. Strong, *Why the Mind has a Body*, pp. 294, 295, 341 *et seq.* His argument is for some "double aspect" theory, e. g. psychophysical idealism or perhaps panpsychism.

[2] "Mere system, of course, does not constitute a subject a science: absolute, unvarying, interpretative law is requisite." Fisher, *Science*, "Economics as a Science," August 31, 1906.

[3] As internally and spiritually perceived and understood. Esthetic perceptions are subjective: scientific perceptions are, in a sense, objective.

tematic, and either consecutive or regular, must know the conditions governing the ego in consciousness. These conditions are largely physiological, and whatever is humanly physiological is necessarily the product of general biologic history. Man is the offspring of all the animals that went into his making.[1] Moreover, their experiences, their consciousnesses, have left in man residuums, echoes, atmospheres, tones that tell the past.[2] It is better so. We need to feel our kinship with all creatures and with all Nature. To accept this is not to deny the origin of the soul immediately from God. We may try to satisfy ourselves with definitions, saying perhaps that spirit is the one reality, the thing-in-itself, that mind is conscious spirit and matter unconscious spirit, and that soul is self-conscious mind; but we know in our hearts that in truth we are not obligated to understand the relation between God and Nature, or that between mind and body, for we are finite and are not to be called upon to produce the infinite. We are creators of nothing whatever. Only God needs to know what man really is.[3] At best, we see only in part.[4] Our only duty is to see clearly the part within our vision. To do this, we must cheerfully accept the truth, whatever truth is demonstrated to our reason.[5] The need of truth is general, not particular or special: it is not only a religious need, or a psychological, or an educational, or a scientific,[6] but it is all these. True or false; that is the only question.[7] Truth is the price of freedom, which is the goal of

[1] Darwin, *Descent of Man*, chapters ii, vi.

[2] Hall, *Adolescence*, chapter x; Darwin, *op. cit.* chapter iii.

[3] Lotze, *Microcosmus*, book ii, chapter ii.

[4] 1 *Corinthians* ix, 9–12, expresses this philosophy of Paul.

[5] "It is wrong always, everywhere, and for any one, to believe anything upon insufficient evidence." Clifford, *Essays*, p. 344.

[6] "Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth." Jesus, John, *Gospel* xvi, 13.

[7] Huxley, *Science and Culture*, p. 240.

man, the mark of his sonship to God, the perfectly free.

> "For He that worketh high and wise,
> Nor pauses in His plan,
> Will take the sun out of the skies
> Ere freedom out of man."[1]

As the scientific method for developing freedom in man and in society, education must use truth and truth only, but truth skillfully. "The truth," said Jesus, "shall make you free."[2] But skillful teaching of truth is simply teaching truth by methods true to the human mind. These methods are summarized in the sciences, that is, the systematized truths as far as we know them, of psychology and of pedagogy or education. Education, therefore, must operate in the light of the consciousness of man, which has been built up through all the ages.[3] This is the familiar "recapitulation theory,"[4] which should be pressed by education much farther than is yet common in practice. By this theory, the individual repeats in body and in mind the history of the race. In strict truth, he repeats in body the tale of his own particular ancestry,[5] and in soul the tale of those who have become known to him and who have been appreciated by him. He repeats, and he varies.[6] In his variability lies all his hope of progress. His physical recapitulation and his physical variability are narrow enough compared

[1] Emerson, *Concord Ode.*

[2] John, *Gospel* viii, 32.

[3] Hall, *Heirs of the Ages*, pamphlet.

[4] Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, chapter iv; Baldwin, *Mental Development*, pp. 14 *et seq.* The term "culture epochs theory" does not fully cover its content.

[5] Up to the period of conception in the case of his father, and of birth or perhaps of weaning in the case of his mother. The experience of aged men and women cannot pass to posterity *via* heredity. The text does not deny or assert that the soul is likewise inherited. If it is, how fortunate that we inherit the bodies and souls of youth and of early maturity only!

[6] Darwin, *Origin of Species*, chapter ii.

with the possibilities of his psychical repetitions and differentiations, which depend largely upon his educational opportunities. In his soul, he may repeat, he may even improve upon, the emotions, thoughts, impulses, of the very greatest and best men who ever lived before him or are living now. It is this phase of the possible recapitulations of man that education is too much disposed to ignore.

To suppose that repeating the economic history, or the social, or the religious, or the cultural is enough for a highly educated individual is quite as fallacious as to suppose that such a repetition of the history of nations is enough for a new nation "in the foremost files of time." The familiar summary, "Ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny," is a truth; but one that does not go far enough for education. As a beginning, we should concern ourselves with the principle that no man can develop soundly save by repeating every stage and every step by which the race has progressed. Thus, the individual is made human by being humanized in embryo and in independent body, in infantile and maturing soul. He develops best as well as most rapidly who takes the smallest number of false steps and delays least at the various stages: he is neither distracted from his purpose to grow nor arrested in his growth. Therefore, that education is best which avoids the pitfalls and proceeds to the goal.

The child and youth will think of stealing and of killing: restrained in these thoughts, to him property and sanctity of life come to be realities. He will inevitably desire to be indolent: encouraged in industry, to him work becomes a moral duty. He will lie, he will lust, he will imagine treacheries and dishonors, he will devise all historic sins, as did his ancestors, animal and human: let him inhibit these psychoses, and he will achieve truthfulness, chastity, fealty, honor. Though it be granted

that one who gives way to these ancestral promptings and indulges them may yet, after the satisfactions of experience, clear and clean his soul and develop beyond them, upon the principle of the Aristotelian catharsis,[1] two things still remain true: that he who never steals or murders or idles or lies or otherwise sins will most quickly and most surely attain moral freedom and intellectual power, and that society will have no harsh or pitying memories of him to cloud its picture of his final virtue. What society, in its successive stages, has agreed to call "vice" or "sin" has not been the highway either to personal virtue or to social favor, though moral fault has often been the highway to power, and society has forgiven much to those who have served its greater interests.

Jesus taught us to pray, "Lead us not into temptation,[2] but deliver us from evil." To be consistent, one who argues that the child must be savage, barbarian, hunter, shepherd, farmer, mechanic, clerk, scholar, statesman, and more, in order to realize himself through conscious repetition of race history, should also argue that he must be slayer, thief, fornicator, idler, liar, sloven, traitor, and worse, if worse there be; for man morally has manifested all these criminal and base creatures. The psychoses of all these ancestral experiences endure more or less darkly or clearly in every human being: they are our latent or potent temptations.[3]

[1] *Nicomachean Ethics; Politics;* also cf. *Virtue and Vice*, probably not written by him.

[2] "For we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." Paul (?), *Hebrews* iv, 15.

[3] "But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." Matthew v, 28. A saying of Jesus'.

"Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house . . . nor any thing that is thy neighbour's." *Exodus* xx, 17. To covet is to be ready to take. These outgrown psychoses are all too ready to waken into will. We inherit the youth of our ancestors. This is physical good fortune; but perhaps psychical ill fortune, for the virtues acquired in late life — temperance, prudence, self-command, and self-restraint — are not trans-

In this phase of the recapitulation theory, there is a truth for pedagogy. Upon evidence of a new psychosis, echoing the past, the educator should endeavor to check at once whatever is bad (i. e. contrary to modern morals), and to develop quickly and fully whatever is good (i. e. in conformity with essential morals). The evil instinct is to be encouraged to atrophy. It is the duty of pedagogy to know how to check, to cut off, to paralyze, or to encyst the bad in its nascent period.[1] This is one of the essential methods of education.

It may seem narrow, one-sided, partial, to evaluate education thus in the terms of morals; but upon reflection such an evaluation is thoroughly sound. Morals are not wholly a matter of will and but slightly a matter of feeling: they are largely a matter of intellect. Socrates was altogether right when he argued that "knowledge is virtue." An intelligent man cannot be moral in matters above his comprehension, nor can an ignorant man be moral in matters outside of his knowledge.

The law is theoretically a system for executing justice between man and society and between man and man. It is a metaphysic designed to interpret right and wrong in terms. It is also an ethic designed to reduce the metaphysical terms to concrete realities. The "quibbles" of the law, however, are quite as notorious as are the subtleties of scholasticism. In matters of right and wrong, hair-splitting is often inevitable. In consequence, the law requires very able men in its administration; and its applications demonstrate by induction that morality is conditioned by intelligence. Only the wise judge can be righteous in difficult cases.

Government is carried on by men, some of whom are incapable of comprehending their tasks. Many an intellectual blunder or error has been charged to moral turpitude. "To

mitted. Each man must discipline himself, that he may manifest the life of reason. Cf. Santayana, *The Life of Reason, passim.*

[1] Ellis, "Philosophy of Education," *Pedagogical Seminary*, October, 1897.

be faithful to one's own" is sound family morals, but it is vicious government procedure until "one's own" are conceived as enlarged to include all the community: such enlargement of vision is beyond the intellect of some legislators and officers of the State. Men of narrow experience often go astray in government affairs for want of criteria of judgment.

There is a large aspect of the recapitulation theory that is social. The individual is to discover for himself that great life which the race has wrought for itself in and through civilization. He will not become wholly human until he knows what the associations and institutions of mankind are and what they mean. As long as this knowledge is denied him and in the degree in which it is denied to him, so long and in this degree he is outside of humanity. In this phase of sociological theory, he is not yet conscious of his kinship;[1] and here humanity is conceived not as real mankind, but as the ideal mankind that we believe we are helping to produce. It belongs to education to introduce the growing mind to these social institutions.

Education may be described more easily than it may be defined. It is a system of processes for liberalizing the soul. The most highly educated man is he who is most free, farthest-sighted, strongest in purpose, kindest among men. To be highly educated is to desire truth, to admire beauty, to love goodness. To desire truth is to seek facts, and within the facts laws, and to abandon the falsities clearly exposed by the truths. To admire beauty is to see into the harmonies and concords of Nature and of Art, and to appreciate their order, peace, and propriety. To be good is to avoid sin, which is harming others or one's self, and to seek righteousness, which is helping others or one's self without sin. Goodness is a matter of the will, as every one knows; truth, a matter

[1] Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, chapter i.

of the intellect; beauty, a matter of the heart. They are various aspects of the soul.

With these excellent qualities, a diseased or awkward or depraved body scarcely comports. Therefore, not for its own sake, but for the sake of its inmate, the soul, the body is to be nourished, exercised, and trained. Not weight or size or strength, but grace, vigor, and health are the signs of a body fit for an excellent soul. The body is to be the servant of the self-conscious spirit. These are but commonplaces; and yet for want of them many a scholar and many an athlete has gone to ruin.

Education has but one proper manner; this is orderliness.[1] It includes calmness, timeliness, propriety, purpose, completeness. Education has, it is true, time for ecstasy; but it is the ecstasy of poetry, not of hysteria. Education has a time for conflict; but it is the conflict of deliberate warfare, not of fanatic riot. Education has a time for dreaming; but it is the dreaming in revery, not in hallucination and in delusion. Order is the manner of education, which is the method of approach to heaven, the scene and evidence of the life eternal.

Education seeks to discover, to produce, and to perfect that harmony which is the essential nature of the soul.[2] For what is the soul but a harmony of all the powers; and what can heaven be but a harmony of educated souls? So Plato reasoned,[3] and Jesus taught.[4]

[1] "To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven: a time to be born, and a time to die; . . . a time to break down, and a time to build up; . . . a time to keep silence, and a time to speak; . . . a time of war, and a time of peace." *Ecclesiastes* iii, 1–8. "A certain order, then, proper to each, becoming inherent in each, makes each thing good." Plato, *Gorgias*, § 133.

[2] "The harmonious unfolding of the soul is the supreme end of the art of life." Höffding, *Problems of Philosophy* (Fisher, transl.), p. 162.

[3] Socrates speaking, *Phædo*, § 99.

[4] Cf. Mark xii, 32–34.

Forever the new birth, forever regeneration, forever *natura*, being born! Such is education. Its limit may no man set.[1] Each generation manifests the superman. Always comes the new heaven upon a new earth.[2]

"Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea."[3]

[1] "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." Paul, 1 *Corinthians* ii, 9.

[2] The climax of each succeeding civilization is always higher than the preceding. No dream of a better age to come ever is as beautiful in comparison with the old as is the actual age when it comes.

[3] Holmes, *The Chambered Nautilus.*

CHAPTER II

VALUES OF THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Individuals may form communities; but it is institutions alone that can create a nation. — BENJAMIN DISRAELI (Earl of Beaconsfield), *Manchester Speech*, 1866.

Upon earth is no power that may be compared with the State. — POLLOCK, *Science of Politics*, p. 126.

Neither race nor tradition, nor yet the actual past binds the American to his countryman, but rather the future which together they are building. — MÜNSTERBERG, *The Americans*, p. 5.

THROUGHOUT the world of civilized mankind, society manifests, in greater or less completeness, eight great social institutions, — Property, Family, Church, State, School, Culture, Business, and War. From many thousand years ago in Mesopotamia and in Egypt, until now, these institutions have been gradually evolving. How ancient they are in India and in China, I do not undertake to say: it suffices that wherever civilization arises, there arise also these institutions to develop, to concentrate, to cherish, and to destroy the customs and interests of a common humanity. Of the individual, whether in ancient Chaldea, in mediæval Europe, or in modern Japan or England or the United States, it is reasonable to say that the largeness of his life depends mainly upon the extent of his identification with the first six institutions and realization of their opportunities, and of his understanding of the last two. It may be added that to withdraw or to be withdrawn from any of them is at the peril of narrowness and anxiety of life.

The fact that in historical civilization woman has generally been property rather than the owner of property, practically enslaved by marriage, silent in the church, unrecognized in the state, almost never at school,

without knowledge of literature, music, or art, and at best but a servant in business, tells the bitter story of the vulgar philosophy of humanity. All ignorant men, like some intelligent scientists, believe in heredity and doubt environment and education. They are fatalists. They idolize function and instinct. They are routinists and caste-worshipers. The belief of intelligent men, excepting only a few of the scientists, is that heredity is not fate, that indeed heredity may be modified by education and by other environment, and that these modifications may be transmitted to offspring. If this belief conforms to the facts, it follows from the facts that to the progress of humanity the progress of woman by participation in the activities of religion, of government, and of education must be advantageous.

Doubtless, to the completeness of this argument, some consideration of the relative influences of father and of mother upon the child is desirable; but limitations of space and the digressive nature of the topic forbid full treatment. The weight of evidence and opinion seems to be that (1) in general, the boy is like the mother, the girl like the father; (2) heredity crosses at adolescence so that the adult tends toward the parent less closely resembled in childhood; (3) in skin, flesh, muscle, the child resembles the mother more than the father, but in skeleton, form, and general structure resembles the father more than the mother; (4) mind and character are not inherited, though they are conditioned by the physical inheritance; (5) a habit acquired by one parent is scarcely transmissible, but if acquired by both parents may be transmissible, and, if acquired continuously in all lines for three or more generations, will probably be transmitted.[1]

[1] Example. The son or daughter of two parents, four grandparents, and eight great-grandparents, all highly educated and sound physically in manhood and in womanhood, is easily educable, probably displaying almost or quite without suggestion the mental and moral habits taught to his or her ancestors. Darwin, *Origin of Species*, launched this world-wide controversy. Patten, *Heredity and Social Progress*, chapter ii.

To the correctness of this belief, the progress of the United States since the prevalence of the education of women is fair evidence. In the face of the incalculably great services of emancipated women to their peoples and to their times, — Elizabeth, Victoria, Catherine, Marian Evans, Harriet Beecher Stowe, — the vulgar philosophy, that in the interests of humanity woman may rightly be limited to the functions of child-bearing and of child-rearing, seems incredibly ignorant.[1] Such ignorance is part and parcel of human nature as manifested in a considerable portion of mankind; and with it, educators should reckon. It may be that because of our prosperity most of us tolerate rather than advocate and support the education of woman. And yet in our worst years of business depression, though we may talk of closing our high schools, no one has suggested denying our girls equal privileges with our boys in elementary schools.

The fact that for centuries, throughout Christendom and all heathendom that is visited by its missionaries, the Roman Catholic Church has enforced the celibacy of its clergy, removing them from the family as parents, and has limited them in matters of property, of government, and of business, does not prove the wisdom of such limitations, but raises the questions whether the individuals have not been sacrificed to the institution, and whether the institution itself has not thereby been limited in its own success.[2] It may be that the redemption of the world requires martyrs, and that an institution must be maintained to train, to discipline, and to support men who are primarily social functionaries and therefore essentially martyrs; but that such martyrdom is a manifest mode of education to be imitated by a

[1] Charlotte Gilman, *Human Work; Woman and Economics*, both *passim*.

[2] Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, pp. 63, 101, 173, 174, 183.

considerable portion of mankind is not in the least a debatable question, for it is an absolutely necessary condition of human society.

The man who has inherited property, who has known the care of parents and the love of wife and children, who has participated in the affairs of government and of religion, who has benefited by the school, who knows the arts of culture, and who has tried his powers in business is the larger for all his experiences; and no amount of experience in one or more of these fields but not in all can make up for its absence in others. The woman, likewise. To say that property tends to idleness, family to aloofness, government to corruption, religion to hypocrisy, education to egotism, culture to conceit, and business to selfishness is but to say that personal motives may pervert the good to the base. To say these things is once more to indulge ourselves in an unhappy and vulgar philosophy.[1] Each social institution has its own characteristic motive; yet grouping the institutions is possible. Property, Family, Church, State, School, Business,[2] Culture, do, indeed, all tend to the domestic peace of society. Civil warfare is their antitype. They are cosmos; War, chaos. In their methods and means, Property, Business, War, and Culture are primarily personal, while Family, Church, State, and School are primarily social. A true profession serves an institution by devising appropriate methods and means by which it may perform its functions. Society is the treasury of such methods and means. The first and lesser institutions content themselves with servants, to each

[1] To each man, his philosophy. In the degree of his reflection upon life, that philosophy is individual. The vulgar philosophy is traditional, social, superficial, inconsistent, and plausible. Wisdom seeks to cleanse the mind of all such philosophy.

[2] This is true of business only as a body of industries; it is not true of business as competitive selling of goods, or of services.

institution its peculiar class: Property[1] has the policeman; Business, the mechanic and the clerk; War, the soldier; Culture, the artist and the expositor. The second and greater institutions have their professions: Family has the physician; Religion,[2] the clergyman; Government, the lawyer; and Education, the teacher.

In this democratic age, when humanity, failing to realize its ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity, out of defeat has risen to the higher ideals of justice, independence, and opportunity, we are likely to be deceived, by the excessive authority of the State, into thinking it the one truly universal institution of society. There is to-day little into which the modern State does not inquire and little in which it does not interfere.[3] That the State is usurping functions proper only to other social institutions is believed by many. That it is patronizing and subordinating the School, truckling to Property, sacrificing some of its own best interests to Business, modifying the Family (scarcely improving it thereby), and deliberately isolating itself from the Church, is also believed by many: to no slight extent, these measures are reducing the sphere of liberty.[4]

In their motives and aims, Church and School are primarily personal; but in whatever respects Family and State are personal, they are in danger of being vicious. It is the personal legislation of the State that threatens the peace and the welfare of general society.

[1] Wealth is sometimes considered as synonymous with Property-and-Business, and is treated as one social institution. The appearance of being synonymous is mere appearance; the reality of difference is developed in the text at various places.

[2] Church and Religion, State and Government, etc., are not synonymous terms: they do, however, denote the same matter, while affording somewhat different connotations.

[3] Mill, *Liberty;* Spencer, *Social Statics.*

[4] Butler, "Principles of Education," *Educational Review*, June, 1902, p. 190, discusses the aspects of this matter in relation to the University.

The State has legitimate functions; but it has so far overreached these functions that some persons fear and others hope[1] that it may become the sole authoritative and independent social institution. No doubt, if government is the dominant concern of mankind, then society organized as a State and performing therein all social functions would be logical; but perhaps religion and education are quite as important concerns, requiring for their proper development and full service to mankind entire freedom from the State. In respect to the School, it may indeed prove that the State must serve and not rule.

The characteristic motive of Property is self-realization through ownership of the things of the objective world. Acquisition is its accent. Possession is its emphasis. Transmission to the heirs of the body is its climax. The slow music of the monotonous melody of Property is the funeral dirge of the spirit. To desire to be rich as a goal is significant of arrest of development, for the property instinct characterizes later childhood;[2] as a preparation for adolescence, as a stage, marking perhaps high-water level of some adult creature forerunning man,[3] activity in property-getting may be commendable. But property as sole or chief object in life becomes a stumbling-block, whatever may be the opinions of the many or of the millionaire.[4] Property founds the leisure class, which is at once the treasury of culture, the fortress of ethics, and the palace of luxury, with all that these symbols involve. But property is

[1] Hillquit, *History of Socialism*. This, it may be, is the largest question now under consideration in the Western world.

[2] Kirkpatrick, *Fundamentals of Child-Study*, p. 206; Klein-France, "Psychology of Ownership," *Pedagogical Seminary*, vol. vi, pp. 421–470.

[3] Hall, *Adolescence*, p. 45.

[4] "A man's first duty," said President Theodore Roosevelt in a speech in 1903, "is to his family; his next to the State." It is doubtful whether, in either particular, history sustains this familiar thesis.

only the necessity, not the ambition of the leisure class,[1] whose members are at once the scum and the cream of society. Thus the wheat and the tares are growing, to be gathered together for the harvest. A life without property is a life without background. A life with property and nothing else is a life without foreground. Property is the right to exclude all others from use of the thing owned.[2] Originally it presumed physical power to resist all others. Now it necessitates society organized potentially (covertly but ready to be overtly) to serve the owner against the trespasser.[3] Property preceded a common humanity, even any humanity, for animals recognize it.

An individual without property in civilization is a most pathetic object. He usually seems to lack true personality. A civilization with many such individuals stands convicted of social iniquity. The fact, unremedied and continued, is an advertisement of the public guilt of all. Tolstoi was a benefactor of humanity when he drew upon all the resources of his superb literary art to restore to health a truth long "bedridden in the dormitory of the soul"[4] and declared year after year, "Yes, we will do almost anything for the poor man, anything but get off his back."[5] Emerson stated the principle with perfect clearness in respect to the most important of all kinds of property when he said, "Whilst another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated."[6] But this is just as true of every other necessary of life. Of two poor women in a tenement, one with bread, the other with no bread, let us learn once more the doctrine of John, "We know that we

[1] Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class.*

[2] Holmes, *Common Law*, chapter i.

[3] The right of property issues out of the power of one class over all others. Gumplowicz, *Sociology*, p. 179.

[4] Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection.*

[5] Quoted, Huntington, *Philanthropy and Morality.*

[6] "Man the Reformer," *Nature, Addresses, and Lectures*, p. 234.

have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother abideth in death."[1] "Behold! No land like this barren and naked land of poverty could show the moral geology of the world."[2] This, however, is no reason for continuing poverty forever in the world. It is rather a very good reason for listening to the revelations of poverty concerning morals, and for discontinuing the causes of poverty so far as possible. These causes appear to form a vicious circle; they may be cited as ignorance, fraud, and disease.[3] The circle can, however, be broken by government, when it destroys privilege; by science, when it prevents disease and hastens the cure; and by education, when it enlightens ignorance and develops power.

The characteristic motive of the Family is self-sacrifice. The ancient patriarch owned his sons and daughters-in-law and all their descendants. Out of this ownership of consort and of lineal descendants in the male line (and unmarried daughters)[4] grew the modern family, as we know it in Europe and in America. In the Family, the individual foregoes his own economic advantage. Property is in common use, even though the title be in the head.[5] For the sake of his kin, the individual

[1] 1 *Epistle* iii, 14.

[2] Phillips Brooks, *Sermons*, 5th series, p. 166.

[3] Cf. Ross, *Social Control*, p. 382.

[4] The daughters at marriage took their dowry as their share in the general family property. Maine (Pollock, ed. New York, tenth edition), *Ancient Law*, p. 218.

[5] To the historian familiar with anthropology, the modern statute laws giving the married woman control of her own property, granting alimony to divorced wives, and preserving very limited rights to husbands in their deceased wives' estates, and the laws relating to wills, are invasions of the sacred precincts of Property and of Family, are declarations that individuals are greater than these primary social institutions, and are challenges (perhaps presumptuous and perilous) of the very method by which modern society has come into being. Cf. Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, vol. iii, chapter xviii.

is glad to imperil life itself. Self-denial for the sake of others in the family is so common as to pass unnoticed. This denial attains often the dignity of self-sacrifice, occasionally the glory of martyrdom in life and in death. In the history of the Family, we may trace the steps by which man has ascended to humanity.[1]

As the secondary purpose of Property is to secure to posterity wealth and its accompanying advantages in material civilization, so the secondary purpose of the Family is to secure to posterity culture and the spiritual civilization. Older than Church and State, Property and Family underlie all religious and political laws, customs, ceremonies, and traditions. Possession and title, marriage, and parental and filial obligation are stronger than worship, ceremonial, and religion, — stronger than power, politics, and government.[2] We may liken family affection to atomic affinity, religious association to molecular attraction, and patriotism to mass gravitation. In the day of social dissolution and anarchy, only the Family endures, and the last fight is for the land and the home.

The personal motive inculcated by the Church is self-abnegation. Reverence for the Higher Power is the melody of the religious life. The origin of the Church was in the convenience of differentiating the religious functions of the patriarch and of integrating them in the priestly office.[3] It scarcely appears that the primitive man was a worshiper of his gods and devils; but out of the savage fears and superstitions[4] of primitive man grew the ceremonial rites and worship of the barbarian. As guardian of the ritual and of the ceremonial arose the priest; and with the priest appeared the Church. Isolated from heavy labor, from the hunt, and from war,

[1] Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, chapter vii.

[2] Cf. Sophocles, *Antigone*.

[3] Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. iii; Maspero, *Egypt* (transl. Sayce–McClure), vol. ii, chapter i.

[4] Fiske, *Idea of God*, p. 166.

the priest observed, thought, acquired knowledge, and became wise beyond other men. He saw that the world is mystery, and learned the power of mystery by partly resolving it into knowledge.[1] This process, begun seven thousand years ago,[2] may be observed to-day, when a man arises from among ignorant manual laborers to become priest, preacher, statesman, or other scholar. He feels his littleness in the immensity and the eternity of the universe of God; and teaches others so. Forever the burden of his sermon is self-abnegation. "Be ye reconciled." "Not my will, but Thine be done." "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Such has been the revelation proclaimed in every age by the prophets and the priests. It is a mystic and esoteric doctrine; but its power, its influences, and its results have been visible in all the recorded history of mankind. It has compelled introspection, made revery, silence, and solitude sacred, immeasurably dignified the individual, and evolved the conscience of man, which, though indefinable, is nevertheless undeniable and tends to universality. By religion, the creature man is bound directly and intimately to his creating God. The real savage, before the days of Property, of Family, and of Religion, lived a unit upon the surface of Nature. Property gave man largeness through self-realization, while the Family gave him permanence through a recognized continuity of generation, consequent upon the social relations of blood-kindred. The Church gave man worth by developing, according to its dogmas, consciousness of sonship to the Power of whose thought this world is but a passing form.[3]

[1] Titchener, *Outlines of Psychology*, chapter i.

[2] Mitchell, *The Past in the Present.* Without a knowledge of this theory, as expressed by historians and by philosophers, and as displayed in a multitude of modern facts, the present civilization is scarcely understandable.

[3] Luke, *Acts*, quoting Paul, "For in him we live and move and have our being."

Through self-surrender, man acquires dignity. "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it," said Jesus.[1] It is scientifically demonstrable. The discovery of this truth is the new birth.[2] "Ye must be born again," said He to Nicodemus. By this birth, self becomes, in sympathy, coextensive with the cosmos,[3] securing thereby moral sanity, and death ceases to have the meaning of fear or of regret. The man who really loses himself gains the whole world.[4] It is the moral of all heroisms and martyrdoms.

"What excites and interests the lookers-on at life, what the romances and the statues celebrate, and the grim civic monuments recall, is the everlasting battle of the powers of light with those of darkness, — with heroism reduced to its bare chance, yet ever and anon snatching victory from the jaws of death."[5]

Younger than the Church, evolving out of Church, Family, and Property, arose the State with its double function, external and internal, like the obverse and the reverse of a shield. One function of the State is to protect a particular society of men, women, and children with their particular forms of religion, of marriage, and of property, from all other societies. In respect to this function, the State is the organizer of defensive war.[6] It is an interesting instance of differentiation and of integration.[7] In organizing aggressive war, the State is

[1] Matthew xvi, 25.

[2] John iii, 4.

[3] Naden, *Induction and Deduction* (*Hydo-Idealism*), p. 174.

[4] The man who, in the popular sense, "loses himself" in vice, does not really lose himself at all. He is enslaved to self, degraded to that worship, and at last lost from the world in the sole "society" of himself. Dante showed the liar thus lost from the world in lowest hell upon a pinnacle of ice.

[5] James, *Talks on Psychology and Life's Ideals*, p. 272.

[6] Bluntschli, *Theory of the State*, Oxford transl., p. 320.

[7] It is unnecessary to do more than to acknowledge my obligation to

usually acting in the sole interest of Property. Land-hunger, proper or artificial, has set in motion most wars. The army and the navy exist for aggression, while the militia and the marine exist for defense.

Beginning as a means to preserve for a society its peculiar institutions, the State has grown into a machine for modifying and even controlling and directing them. Both property and family, both religion and education, both culture and business, have assumed voluntarily or involuntarily unnatural forms because of the force and influence of political government. In the period of nation-making intolerance is a political necessity.[1] The State has meddled, not always from necessity, in all the various affairs of human society.[2]

The State has several conspicuous weaknesses. It has no voluntarily and, in consequence, liberally granted means of support; therefore, it is inadequately supplied with wealth for its several needs, especially for its need of superior talents to be employed in its service. In its democratic forms, it has no permanence either of personnel or of specific traditions,[3] changing its men and its purposes as public opinion wills.[4] Every other social institution — Family, Church, School, State, Culture, War — is finally dependent upon either Property or Business for revenue.[5] The State has felt itself

Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, etc., for the theory. "Evolution is a continuous change from indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to definite, coherent heterogeneity of structure and function, through successive differentiations and integrations." Rogers, *History of Philosophy*, p. 510. This is a more compact statement than is anywhere offered by Spencer himself.

[1] Seeley, *Introduction to Political Science*, p. 137.

[2] The necessity of the State in respect to property is solely to derive revenues from it. The State, however, has undertaken to create many forms of property, such as corporations, franchises, titles, mortgages, money.

[3] Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, vol. ii, p. 572.

[4] Oliver, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 164.

[5] Government is founded upon property. Webster, *Speech at Plymouth*, 1820.

forced or has deliberately chosen upon many occasions, in order to secure large funds for its support, either to bribe or to overpower Property or Business to meet its demands.[1]

Civilization has been the scene of many struggles between the eight major social institutions. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the terrific struggle for mastery is between the State and Business for the control of society: the other institutions are standing by as little more than onlookers. The Church, indeed, and the Family, are disintegrating before our eyes: neither has sufficient surplus vitality to take part in the struggle. Culture, with its overlord, the University, stands aloof. Whether its revenues come from government or from property, the University cares but little save in so far as its own academic freedom is involved.[2]

The School has joined the State in its struggle for supremacy, and in return has secured the support of the State for its own maintenance. This singular alliance has resulted in making the School almost wholly

[1] Of bribes to business, many protective tariff laws have been examples. Of threats to overthrow Property as a social institution, "condemnation proceedings" are examples. In a certain sense, every tax, direct or indirect, is confiscatory. Of course, both Business and Property have methods and means of revenge, familiar enough to all social observers.

[2] It is a fair question whether there is greater academic freedom in the State University or in the "endowed" or Property University. There is, however, no little evidence that a University that draws its revenues directly from Business (as by fees or current donations) and a University that draws its revenues from the Church (mediating between Culture and Property or Business) are both certain not to have genuine and complete academic freedom. Whether the University draws its millions of annual revenue directly from Property ("invested funds"), or from Business (gifts), or from the State ("grants" or taxes), or from the Church makes no difference in the amount of the burden thereby imposed upon society; but it makes a very great deal of difference to the University itself because the mediating persons who collect the revenues affect, in the degrees of their power, and in accordance with their social obligations, the policy of expenditure.

dependent upon the State [1] and in emphasizing in all school courses the aim of preparation for citizenship as paramount, which in sound social philosophy it certainly is not.

The American State has chosen to assume for the public school the tremendous responsibility of Americanizing an annual number of immigrants ranging from one to two per cent of the entire old population. To Americanize means to adapt to all our institutions,—marriage, religion, property, business, military service, as well as education and culture. Such an assumption amounts almost to a usurpation of all the functions proper to Society itself. This assumption illustrates perfectly the arrogance of the modern democratic State, falsely conceiving itself to be coterminous, synonymous, yes, identical with Society.[2] In a mad delusion, State-socialism arises, in which a State-Society is conceived, a far more dreadful notion than the historic State-Church. No such terror can, however, come to pass, for the world sees age after age not combination and consolidation with coincident integration of the whole, but variation and differentiation with coincident integration of the parts. The State will not synthesize all institutions into one State-Society, but rather will Society itself produce yet other institutions to reduce the State to smaller pretensions and to greater efficiency in its proper field. The entire sociological history of mankind is a prophecy of farther specializations of social function with coincident reductions of the older institutions.

Vast as the State is to-day, great as its power is, it is nevertheless a secondary and subordinate institution.

[1] "To the public (State) schools goes $225,000,000 annually; to all other schools, $40,000,000; to universities of all kinds, $10,000,000 for current expenses. We need five times as much." Eliot, *More Money for the Public Schools.*

[2] Pollock, *Science of Politics*, p. 125; Bluntschli, *Theory of the State*, pp. 17, 92 *et seq.*; Le Rossignol, *Orthodox Socialism.*

Property, Family, and Church, — private wealth, the home, and religion, — in the persons of lords, of patriarchs, and of priests, conspired to build the State, to make its princes and its laws. To this day, in every Nation sufficiently civilized to have orderly government, Property, Family, and Church manipulate government to their own ends.[1]

Culture antedates Business by many a century, for it began with language and the industrial arts. As a social institution, Culture finds its apotheosis in the university; but it requires many other modes for its expression. The museum, the library, the newspaper, the magazine, the book, the picture, the hospital, the factory, and the farm are essentially the products of Culture. The fine arts, however broadly we may use the term, are but exhibits of its power. Man finds in music, poetry, painting, architecture, a relief for self-expression, a joy of being, a meaning to life, that nothing else can give.[2]

[1] Superficially this may not appear true. By franchises and by tariff laws, the State puts many men in the way of wealth; but it does so at the dictates of Property. The political power of the millionaire is proverbial. The monogamous Family is a sacred idea: despite divorce and Mormonism, the governments of this Nation and of the States dare not, never even consider, legalizing bigamy, polygamy, and polyandry. The Family, not the State, invented the civil marriage; and did so because of the weakness of the Church, which could not everywhere solemnize the ecclesiastical marriage. Free love, adultery, and prostitution endure because the work of the Family in developing the human being out of the animal is not yet complete; atavisms will recur, and degeneration as yet continues to accompany civilization. More recondite, yet not less certain, is the subordination of even the American State to the Church. In this New World, religious conflicts have dictated religious toleration to save both religion and society. (See Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 155, trans. by Moore. Also Chancellor-Hewes, *The United States*, vol. i, p. 450.) Therefore, the Church itself has commanded, and still commands, the separation of Church and State. At the same time, it compels the State to withhold taxation of ecclesiastical property while affording police protection and maintaining title. (Schaff, *Church and State.*)

[2] Henderson, *Education and the Larger Life*, p. 80.

Culture, then, is a reality that gives beauty to morals and content to existence. True culture is the solvent of the confusions of egoism and altruism. The motive of Culture is self-development; but its beginning is social service and its outcome is social usefulness. Culture is not synonymous with education, for its speech is of amenities and of graces rather than of powers and of insights. It is education raised to the second power. When culture is founded upon education, it possesses dignity; when education is crowned with culture, it possesses charm.

An economic analysis discovers Culture in its relations with Property and with Business. The creations of Art become the things of Property through the process of exchange, which is the essence of Business. In these times, many of us imagine that the farmer raises wheat, the miner digs iron, the potter moulds clay, the mechanic builds the machine, the weaver makes cloth, the painter creates the picture, the author writes the book, the surgeon binds the wound, the lawyer pleads his case, that all artists or artisans do their work, in order that Business may resound upon the earth. It is a strange, unhistoric, unphilosophic delusion. It is the modern temporary insanity. Such is the transcendence of Business, the last survival of private war upon earth.[1]

Of this temporary unsoundness of the social judgment, due largely to the unprecedented and marvelous augmentation of economic activity, itself the effect of political freedom, which in turn is the effect of religious freedom,[2] the symbol is money, the medium of modern exchanges of property, real and personal. We vainly imagine that money buys anything and everything; but when we undertake to buy the things and the experiences

[1] Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. 78.

[2] "Freedom is the heart of commerce." Colbert in *Comptes Rendus de l'Institut*, xxxix, 93.

that are really worth while, this imagining abruptly ends in the shock of the discovery that only a few things are bought and sold. Of services of man to man, money buys but few; and of these few services, money buys almost none that are important. The economic world is really much restricted. In many instances, where we seem to be buying services we are in fact but merely repaying to the servant the cost of the services to him in order that he may live by his generous labor. In truth, in this modern age, honest services are scarcely to be bought at all. Even in the case of goods and of lands, by no means all the exchanges are in the way of business. Men do not sell household furniture and supplies to their wives and children. The proposition to pay salaries to mothers for the care that they take of their own children is but one phase of the modern unsoundness of judgment upon most economic matters.[1] The delusions of Business have made not a few mad.[2]

Culture is to civilization what the intellect is to the mind: Religion is the heart of civilization; Government, the will.

Last and least of the social institutions is Business, which reflects the warfare rather than the peace of humanity, and tells the story of the past rather than predicts the future. It is possible to conceive a civilization without war, and without business in its strict economic sense. The theory of Business does not comport with the fundamental morality of mankind.

In order to make this theory, as expressed in its various maxims, comport with the tenth commandment of

[1] This proposition has repeatedly appeared in various current periodicals for women and the home. Charlotte Gilman, *Woman and Economics.*

[2] One of these delusions is that money values are competent measures; e. g. that an income of a million dollars a year represents in the recipient a thousand times as much worth to the world as an income of a thousand dollars a year; and this irrespective of its sources and of its expenditure.

the Decalogue and with the Golden Rule, it is necessary to define many terms and to refine the general opinion of many familiar practices. This tenth commandment begins, "Thou shalt not covet," and the Golden Rule is, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you," while the essential theory of Business is, "Get for what you have more than its cost: that is, sell at a profit." To "make money" is to get more for less: the added "more" is "something for nothing." In the history of the world, nearly every fortune has been made by gains from others. The established business maxims tell the story: "Buy from weak holders: that is, from those who must sell." "Buy cheap, sell dear." "Let the buyer beware (*Caveat emptor*)."

Morality, however, is gaining upon business, as it is upon warfare. We now generally recognize as usury, and therefore immoral as well as illegal, interest above six per cent. The law enforces commissions of only five per cent upon sales. The man who literally gives nothing and gets something is "obtaining money under false pretenses," and may be liable criminally. Moreover, Business, like War, is becoming organized, ordered, and professionalized. We have put an end to private war and to the overt acts of private feud; and it is quite within the limits of possibility that we may bring to an end private business and private gain. The corporation is a limitation of private enterprise; it is quite possible that in the future corporations, as democratic as the modern churches or the modern governments, may control economic life. And it is much more likely that this will take place than that the State will extend much more broadly than now its illogical and unnatural economic functions, which, as should be anticipated, it usually performs so poorly.

Upon this analysis, it is obvious that the pupil who is to understand modern life at as early an age as is appropriate must secure some knowledge of, some insight into the meaning of, these great social institutions. But

what is the meaning of War? What knowledge of War can be of any possible use even as a stage in the education of a boy or girl, not to say as a feature of enduring culture?[1] The history of the mechanics of war is convincing evidence that war will cease. War is conditioned by ignorance: only the man who cannot by argument convince his enemy desires to slay him. War is conditioned by selfishness; only the man who cannot by service get what he desires of his neighbor thinks to rob him. The first wars were between families; the next between clans; the next between communities; then followed wars between tribes, nations, peoples, empires. To-day, from San Francisco to Boston there is organized and, let us hope, permanent peace. War is the true suicide. "He that takes the sword shall perish by the sword."[2] The families and children of soldiers are few. Thus evil cuts itself down.[3]

[1] It may be necessary to set apart a certain number of youths to be instructed (not educated) in the theory and tactics of war. It may perhaps be desirable as a military precaution to maintain a militia and even high school and college cadets. There is perhaps some physical training in the manual of arms. But war as manslaughter, real war, and the spirit of real war are all absolutely anti-educational.

[2] Cf. Jeremiah, *Lamentations* xv, 2; xlii, 11.

[3] Franklin said, "There never was a good war or a bad peace." (Letter to Josiah Quincy, September 11, 1773.) Of course, no war can be righteous upon both sides. Even the righteous side is likely soon to develop such a pitch of rage as to cease to be righteous in spirit. "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," saith the Lord. Paul, *Romans* xii, 19, referring to *Deuteronomy* xxxiii, 35.

A defensive war may be righteous. No offensive war possibly can be. The arguments in defense of the American aggression in the Spanish-American War all proceed from the postulate that there was no other way to put to an end the atrocities of the Spanish rulers; whereas, there was, in fact, an easy way: purchase of the island of Cuba at any price rather than renewal of the lust of blood in Americans. War does not become us. We are the first of the true world-peoples. We are what the Romans meant to be. But what we gained in pride, we lost in character and in reputation when as a nation we asserted that the end justified the means. Cf. Plutarch, *The Slow Punishment of the Wicked.*

To charge war to ignorance is fallacious. To charge anything to ignorance is to argue on the theory that human nature is a vacuum. Such an argument is built on negation, and circles about in nothing. In truth, war is conditioned by ignorance of facts and of principles because the heart of man is full of desires; to their accomplishment, he is willing to proceed directly, whereas the best way, often the only way, to accomplish them, is to proceed indirectly, that is to find a tool [1] or a method.[2] The thief desires property and steals it, while the honest man, desiring it, gives services or goods in exchange for it. At the cost of bloodshed, of hatred, and of revitalized estrangement, war is always wrong, even when the end proposed is good.

"Thou shalt not kill" is a universal law: not even for Church or State may one kill righteously another man, save, of course, in defense. Even the killing of a murderer by the State in punishment of his crime is no longer to be approved, for both Christian ethics and scientific pedagogics show that it is possible to redeem the criminal from the sinful conditions of his soul. He may be "born again;" educated out of his past: so that his sins are literally forgiven, and he will go and sin no more.[3]

Wars are crimes in the history of nations. The notions of war in the minds of a civilized people are echoes of the past, regurgitations of ancient passions, reverberations of ancestral rages, telling of the pit from which we were digged. They become effective only when the people, from want of intelligence and goodness, despair of accomplishing some purpose in righteousness.[4]

[1] See Ward, *Psychic Factors in Civilization*, chapter xxix.

[2] Method = way through, a main traveled road, μετὰ ὁδός.

[3] Criminals are either sane or insane. The sane are educable and therefore redeemable. Criminology and Pedagogy have many points of common interest and bearing. The insane may be curable or chronic. Their cases are pathological.

[4] Longfellow, *The Arsenal;* Bloch, *The Future of War.*

War as an institution has its schools, its arsenals, its factories. It maintains the cult of military drill and of naval display. It chants a pseudo-patriotism dangerous to the real, which overclouds it, almost suppresses it, sometimes makes any patriotism seem callous, absurd, and base.

Property, Family, Church, State, School, and Culture are all good, entirely good. But Business and War, though necessary until now, and apparently for no little time to come, and therefore good as mediate institutions, have many evil features and influences. The good institutions should be set to the redemption of society from War and from Business by cultivating in their practices what is good and by eliminating and suppressing what is evil. Whatever is good works for the welfare of man and of men; whatever is evil injures humanity itself and all the individuals concerned.

Business and War have brought together the ends of the earth. The merchant and the soldier wove the fabric of Roman civilization. The Crusades redeemed Europe by giving it light from the East. For Europe and America, Business and War have rediscovered India, China, and Japan. Let us hope that only in appearance do they squander human lives for naught.

"O yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill."[1]

[1] Tennyson, *In Memoriam*.

CHAPTER III

CIVILIZATION AND EDUCATION

In our country and in our times, no man is worthy the honored name of statesman who does not include the highest practicable education of the people in all his plans of administration. — MANN, *Education* (lecture iii).

Therefore, my people are taken into captivity for want of knowledge. — *Isaiah* v, 13.

The perfection of human life is our aim. — POLLOCK, *History of the Science of Politics*, p. 124.

To educate is to educe or to develop; to instruct is to train; to inculcate is to inform; while to teach is to show, to guide, to impart anything whatever for any purpose whatsoever.[1] These terms are arranged in an order that, according to the strictest logic, displays the extent and intent of their content. Educate denotes most, teach least; educate connotes least, teach most. Educate has the most intension, teach the most extension. Therefore, educate is a word more difficult of definition than teach. And, therefore, despite popular notions and practices, while even a child may teach, only an expert can educate.

It has frequently been observed that without teaching humanity in the course of a single generation would relapse into savagery and nearly perish in internecine warfare. Civilization is utterly dependent upon teaching.[2] But is it true that without education humanity would be wrecked? Despite the obviousness of the distinction between the two hypotheses, many, failing to discriminate

[1] Cf. Palmer, "The Ideal Teacher," *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1907, p. 442.

[2] *Per contra*, Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 152, 224. He insists that the "moral osmosis" and the "vegetative moral life" assist teaching to maintain civilization.

between teaching and education and between civilization and humanity, have confused them. Let us, therefore, inquire as to the relation between education and civilized humanity. First, then, what is civilization? and, next, what is humanity?

Like many other grandiose terms, — like culture, philosophy, religion, philanthropy, nation, wealth, — the term civilization lends itself more readily to description than to definition. In popular usage it has several meanings, none of them clear; and it may be used properly to designate either process or result, either kinesis or status.

Civilization is the evolution of human society. Its mechanical processes may be stated in these terms, — Humanity is originally manifested in groups, from whose conflicts and unions larger societies are formed. In these societies, the weaker and more numerous individuals are reduced to the service of the stronger and fewer, who, thus granted economic leisure, develop the political structure and the various arts of war and of peace. By the new social relations, the heterogeneous ethnic elements are brought into closer homogeneity of kinship and of sympathy and develop a typical and integral character. Other conflicts and unions with other groups and societies arise. The general society grows externally larger and internally more complex and displays in succession aristocracy, oligarchy, bureaucracy, monarchy, democracy; and bourgeoisie, proletarians, peasants, slaves, various manners of classes, of castes and of masses. When too great homogeneity of blood-kinship and independence from other societies have continued for decades, conspiring to separate too far the nobles and the commons, the rich and the poor, the free and the unfree, the society disintegrates in revolution. The history of a particular civilization ends always either in its subjection to another civilization or in cataclysm.[1]

The spirit of true civilization has been expressed in these terms:—

[1] Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology*, part iii, translated by Moore.

"Civilization is . . . a complicated outcome of a war waged with Nature by man in Society to prevent her from putting into execution in his case her law of Natural Selection. . . . The measure of success attending the struggle of each band or association [of men] so engaged is the measure of the civilization attained." [1]

Civilization is progress, said Guizot. The contrary of the qualities and conditions of the savage life is civilization, said J. S. Mill.[2]

Our notions of civilization necessarily depend upon the observed facts of our own national life and of the lives of other nations, our cross-sections of humanity, as now manifested in various parts of the world, compared and contrasted with the recorded and considered facts of the lives of earlier nations.[3] But whatever these notions may be, they will concern truth, art, and morality; our visions of reality, of beauty, and of goodness; our development in intelligence, in appreciation, and in honor. And whatever these notions be, they will all be essentially social; for they will be derived from our fellow men and in common with our fellow men from the records and traditions of our ancestors. Now and then may appear among us one who to a degree is original in that he possesses some new individual knowledge; but most of this original, new knowledge will be new and original in appearance only, for upon examination it will be mere synthesis of what many others know.

The quality of a civilization is to be valued in accordance with its morality, while its culture is the measure of

[1] Mitchell, *The Past in the Present: What is Civilization?* p. 189.

[2] Cf. Kidd, *Law of Civilization and Decay;* Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe.* If civilization is not cyclical and does not include retrogression as well as progression, the title and thesis of Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," must be considered either illogical or unhistorical.

[3] Acton, *Study of History*, pp. 12–16; Seeley, *Lectures and Essays*, p. 306.

its efficiency. Hence arise the two questions whether there is a morality transcending nations or ages[1] and whether diffusion of culture or its particular height is the true test. These large philosophical questions concern the educator: Shall he teach social, popular, historical, national, comparative, or ideal morals? Shall he aspire to educate as many as possible to the average best possible degree, or a few to their particular best possible degrees? According to his answers to these questions, he will mould the life of his people.[2]

Social (group) morals differ with the particular class in the community. The lord believes in honor, in self-reliance, in bravery, in frankness, in patriotism, in independence: he is masterful.[3] The commoner believes in honesty, in service, in fortitude, in silence, in sympathy, in modesty; he is dutiful.[4] The educator who proposes to teach social morality will teach the morality learned in his own youth, — a morality predetermined by the social (economic) position of his parents, in the degree permitted by the social conditions of the parents of his pupils.

Popular morals are broader and deeper than social (group) morals. They differ less from section to section and from generation to generation than do social morals in their smaller and shallower diffusion. They manifest the influences that go to the making of all averages. To particularize: Popular morals depend upon kinds and forces of the various classes, cultures, communities, races, religions, and languages involved. The educator who proposes to teach popular morality will teach the norm of the morality of the various persons and communities known or reported to him.

Historical morals go far deeper. They speak the truth of the progress of mankind. They sound the natural law.

[1] Acton, *Study of History*, pp. 64–73.

[2] Hadley, *Education of the American Citizen*, p. 180.

[3] Cf. Aristotle, *Ethics*, iv, 78, on the high-minded man.

[4] This contrast is now a commonplace. Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals;* Ruskin, *Munera Pulveris*, *Fors Clavigera;* Lecky, *History of European Morals;* all *passim.*

National morals are stable for long periods, though subject to revolutionary change. Their aspirations are sincere.

Morals are in part traditional, and in part comparative. In their traditional aspect, they are habits, duties, customs; in their comparative aspect, fashions, modes.[1]

Comparative morals are as deep as history and as wide as the nations: they, and they alone, are absolutely true to our universal human nature, for in the present they include the best of the past. Jesus Christ summarized them: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength; and . . . thy neighbor as thyself." [2]

. . . ΑΓΑΠΗCΕΙC (welcome as a household guest) ΚΥ-ΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ CΟΥ ΕΞ ΟΛΗC ΚΑΡΔΙΑC CΟΥ (out of thy whole heart) ΚΑΙ ΕΞ ΟΛΗC ΤΗC ΨΥΧΗC CΟΥ (out of thy whole soul) ΚΑΙ ΕΞ ΟΛΗC ΤΗC ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑC CΟΥ (out of thy whole thorough-mind, discernment, intention) ΚΑΙ ΕΞ ΟΛΗC ΤΗC ΙCΧΥΟC CΟΥ (and out of thy whole bodily strength). . . . ΑΓΑΠΗCΕΙC (welcome, love, dwell with) ΤΟΝ ΠΛΗCΙΟΝ CΟΥ (thy near man) ΩC CΕΑΥΤΟΝ (thy very self). The power and beauty of the Greek text do not fully appear in the English translation. "Love" means the love expressed by a noble host toward an honored guest whom he welcomes into his own home. (Compare *ἀγαθός*.) The tremendous emphasis appears in the exposition, — heart, soul, mind, strength, — and particularly in the word "mind," which means perfect insight and unlimited purpose. (For neighbor, compare the definition of the neighbor in the parable of the Good Samaritan.[3]) The word *ἐντολή*, command, is likewise emphatic, meaning "finality." For the whole passage, compare "Jesus . . . said . . . , 'If a man love me, he will keep my words:

[1] Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 180–195. Cf. Baldwin, *Mental Development: Social and Ethical Interpretations*, chapter I, viii–x.

[2] Mark, *Gospel* xii, 30, 31. Greek text of Westcott and Hort: Schaff, editor.

[3] Luke, *Gospel* x, 29–37.

and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him.'"[1] Literally: If any one welcomes (and honors) me, he will guard my plan (logic), and my father will welcome him, and we will (freely) go to him, and we will make a home (staying) with him. This plan of Jesus was invariably to do for others. Toward all, we are to be like God, who "giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not."[2] "It is more blessed to give than to receive."[3] From this single principle, every other doctrine of Jesus follows. It is the neighbor-religion, ridiculed by Schopenhauer, Von Hartmann, and Nietzsche; and rejected by every civilization to this date: and yet building every civilization; and destroying it finally.[4]

> "Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,
> On the bodies and souls of living men?
> And think ye that building shall endure,
> Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?"[5]

Ideal morality may seem the proper teaching for the educator. Kant often spoke with enthusiasm of "the moral law within." "The still, small voice of conscience" is a familiar phrase: nor is conscience to be lightly challenged as a reality of personal experience. But whether conscience is a revelation of new truth, original with the soul that hears it, or an echo, a sifting, a refining of the notions of general human society is a question. New truth does come into the

[1] John, *Gospel* xiv, 23.

[2] James, *Epistle* i, 5.

[3] Luke, *Acts* xx, 35. A saying of Jesus', quoted by Paul.

[4] "The suffering of an advanced society is not that of one struggling for subsistence, or in combat with enemies, but of one in the throes of disease." . . . "The civilization natural to our age is conspicuously retarded by ignorance, disease, crime, poverty, and other disagreeable anachronisms." Charlotte Gilman, *Human Work*, pp. 10, 7.

The familiar "Golden Rule" is not half of the above-quoted "Eleventh and Twelfth Commandments." It is a prescription that one about to act should consider the sufferer. Its converse, Do not do unto others what you would not have them do to you, is negative and inhibitory for the actor.

The "New Commandments" universalize the Golden Rule and thereby immeasurably elevate and dignify its principle.

[5] Lowell, *A Parable*.

world *via* individual men. In the souls of such exceptional men, conscience, morality, duty, responsibility, rise to new heights, but even in them common morality is the substructure and the main structure, the new truth only the superstructure, of their moral system.[1] Moreover, once expressed by them in act or in thought, their higher morality is no longer ideal but real, and is added to the sum of comparative morals. "E pur si muove," said Galileo; and lived and died to prove what he said. Even morality advances.[2] We know the road but cannot see the goal.[3]

The term morals forthshadows its true meaning. Morals are customs; but customs are not necessarily morals.[4] Morals are almost synonymous with ethics.

The shades of difference appear in the roots of the two words morals (*mos*, custom, manner, mode, cf. *maneo*, remain) and ethics (ἔθος, custom, will, cf. ἐθέλω, desire; θεός, god [free in act]; and ἔθνος, race, peoples, caste). Morals are the external habits and manners; the modes of action; the objective customs; the clothes of the individual and of society.[5] Ethics are the habits of thought, of will, and of desire; the subjective customs; the forms and modes that express the character; the language, the force, the grace of the individual and of society. A moral quality may always be measured; an ethical may only be inferred; one lies upon the surface, the other below it.

"In the beginning is the act."[6]

The act evidences the motive and discloses more or less of the ethical character of the actor. The judgment of the act

[1] "To know that the greatest men of earth are men who think as I do, but deeper, and see the real as I do, but clearer, who work to the goal that I do, but faster, and serve humanity as I do, but better, — that is an inspiration to my life." Baldwin, *Mental Development*, vol. ii, chapter, "The Genius," p. 168.

[2] Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas.*

[3] Höffding, *Problems of Philosophy*, p. 186.

[4] Socrates died to prove this. *Crito; Phædo.*

[5] Cf. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus.*

[6] Goethe, *Faust*, part i, sc. iii. Such is the first axiom of the modern pragmatic philosophy.

is an ethical judgment; but the language in which that judgment is expressed conveys a moral decision. An act may be in accordance with the morals of the times and yet be essentially immoral; or it may offend the common morals and yet be essentially moral. But no ethically correct action, no righteousness, ever offends customary or historical or national or comparative ethics; because by definition ethics is in conformity with reason, and, by definition again, reason is universal, uniform, and increasingly certain. Ethics, then, is a single term conveying the meaning of the phrase, "ideal morality."[1]

In appearance, there is here a paradox; or rather, here is a paradox in the original meaning of the term, a proposition that appears false until it has been adequately considered. Humanity requires a term to satisfy its need of finality, the Kantian category of absolute obligation. Ethics is such a term, a metaphysical abstraction that enspheres, illuminates, and organizes the kinds and modes of duty.[2]

The entire structure of a particular civilization depends upon its morality. This is its character. So the

[1] "Duty is to our humanity what gravitation is to the physical universe." Martineau, *Ethics and Religion*, p. 302.

"The situation that has not Ideal, its Duty, was never yet occupied by man." Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, book ii, chapter ix.

> "Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
> And the most ancient heavens, through Thee, are fresh and strong."
> Wordsworth, *Ode to Duty*.

[2] Watson, *Philosophy of Kant* (*extracts*). "Nothing in all the world, or even outside the world, can possibly be regarded as limitlessly good except a *good will*" (p. 225). This good will enforces "the obligation to act from pure reverence of the moral law," irrespective of consequences. "Reason issues its commands inflexibly, refusing to promise anything to the natural desires" (p. 231) and despising their claims. "There is but one categorical imperative: Act according to that maxim, and that only, which you can will at that time to be a universal law" (p. 241). Or, "act as if the maxim from which you act were to become through your will a universal law of Nature." Such is rationalized morality. "Act so that the will may regard itself as in its maxims laying down universal laws" (p. 249). Such a categorical imperative necessitates each man's conceiving himself as an end in himself, which upon reflection means conceiving himself as free and a lawgiver to himself.

entire structure of a particular person depends upon his morality, which is his character. And since it is the purpose of education to develop character, obviously this can be accomplished only by training in the morality of civilization as manifested in the morality of the best persons.[1]

Here we come upon the essential problem of education. And we must solve it in the light of certain axioms, self-evident or agreed truths. Unless there are such truths, there cannot possibly be any science of education or any need for an art of education; for otherwise education must appear to be a matter of a series of fortunate accidents, within and without the individual, an occasional, sporadic, unintended, unnecessary, unintelligible procession of facts, which no amount of desire, will, and intelligence can secure with certainty. The common sense of mankind says, Not so. But has our common sense erred?

Many persons deny that education is ever consciously accomplished or achieved. According to their notion, which they often express both in speech and in action, educated intelligence exists only where the intelligence would have been equally great without education. All increase in ability accompanying or following courses of education is but the increase natural to the person. At most, educational courses but sift the smart and label them to their social advantage; yet the courses are in no wise to be credited with the result.

This is our *crux difficultatis*. Is there a law of growth?

Our problem is, Can reason effect education? If it can, then let us seriously undertake the task of universal education; if it cannot, let us give up our futile general experiments, allowing individuals, when they so desire, to waste their time, their wealth, and their energy for

[1] "Men of character are the conscience of the society to which they belong." Emerson, *Character*.

affection's sake upon their own, but no longer squandering the common treasure.

This is no idle matter. All about us, for hundreds of generations, the long-schooled — the university-cultivated men — have in most instances not manifested the character of the educated. "So with the man who has daily inured himself to habits of concentrated attention, energetic volition, and self-denial in unnecessary things. He will stand like a tower when everything rocks around him, and his softer fellow mortals are winnowed like chaff in the blast."[1] Certain minorities — one, two, three, five, to be very generous, perhaps ten in a hundred — of the schooled and graduated men and women have been well educated; but most have developed in moral character, the final test, no more than they would have developed in the haphazard environment of life out of school and college.

How many years ago the animal destined for humanity developed its last physical feature, the hand,[2] no one knows. Until the human hand was completely developed, the brain was not finished.[3] Until then the education of man beyond the animal was proceeding physiologically as well as psychologically. But when the hand, with its four fingers and its opposing thumb, with its muscular palm and sensitive finger-tips, had been finished, the animal in man had been perfectly wrought out. Whatever cells and tissues, whatever blood and lymph currents, whatever organs and systems of organs, whatever general and special senses could accomplish in building and furnishing a temple for a soul, had been accomplished.

The origin of man is, as every one knows, lost in obscurity. Several facts of much anthropological interest are hidden from the knowledge of man, — the future; the cause of sex; the

[1] James, *Talks on Psychology and Life's Ideals*, p. 76.

[2] Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, pp. 100 *et seq.*

[3] MacDougall, "Significance of the Human Hand in the Evolution of Mind," *Journal of Psychology*, April, 1905.

origin of life; the links connecting man and his progenitors, the anthropoids and subanthropoids; the stages by which the sea-animal became a land animal quadruped, then a tree animal (when the hand evolved), and last a land animal biped;[1] and the region of the origin of man, wherein God breathed into him the breath of life, and he became a living soul.[2]

Whether in forty or fifty or a hundred thousand years, man has grown taller, heavier, and stronger, or the contrary, does not affect the question of his educability, for between height, weight, and strength, whether of animals or of men, no relation of intelligence and character has ever been established.[3] Elephants, horses, and dogs are rival claimants for intellectual supremacy among the beasts, and parrots, crows, and canaries among the fowls. Kant was five feet in height, Napoleon five feet four inches, Emerson five feet eight, Gladstone five feet ten, Webster the same, Bismarck six feet one inch, Washington six feet three, and Lincoln six feet four inches. Little and big, sick and well, weak and strong, indifferently are good and bad, capable and dull. Even the nervous speed, the psychological rate, makes but slight difference. The quick and the slow indifferently are educable or not educable. Sex matters little or nothing.[4] Race is of but slight importance. Between Alexander and Napoleon, Dewey and Togo, Confucius and Buddha, Dante and Goethe, Tolstoi and Hawthorne, Socrates and Emerson, Aristotle and Kant, Grant and Oyama, Sophocles and Shakespeare, there is not much to choose. The ages have displayed no determinable advance. Sargon, Cæsar, Charlemagne, have no modern superiors. David, the author of Job,

[1] Tyler, *Whence and Whither of Man;* Darwin, *Descent of Man;* Drummond, *Ascent of Man;* Hall, *Heirs of the Ages;* Hall, *Adolescence: its Psychology;* Kidd, *Social Evolution:* all *passim.*

[2] *Genesis* ii, 7.

[3] Donaldson, *Growth of the Brain*, p. 174.

[4] Thompson, *The Mental Traits of Sex*, chapter ix.

Homer, Æschylus, Thucydides, Virgil, Paul, Plato, Ovid, Cicero, Tacitus, Plutarch, St. Augustine, Luther, Tennyson, Lowell, Thackeray, Marian Evans, Victor Hugo, display no gradual improvement in the mind of man. If the good inherit personal immortality in a localized heaven, the ancients will doubtless be found the peers of the moderns,[1] whether the race lasts a hundred thousand or a hundred million years.

Whatever be the metaphysics of the individual, this opinion of physiology that man as a physical animal is no longer improving is likely to be acceptable. From Abraham till now, we are all fellow men. The soul of the modern harmonizes with the soul of the ancient: all of us have sought and are now seeking the same goal. Life is a school, the same kind of a school since the walls of Thebes first rose. Human educability is the same now as in the days of Tiglath-pileser.

Is there any difference between men and nations of the different ages? Undoubtedly there is; and, of course, this difference is in knowledge. With not one new cerebral cell or spinal ganglion, man the individual is the same educable creature as in the days of Moses; but man the race knows more.[2] How much more that it is really worth while to know, how much more truth, let no man undertake to say. The stones that bore the commands given in the thunder of Sinai recorded truth to which the race has not yet risen. No civilization as yet has fairly represented the results of faithful observance of the Ten Commandments. No civilization yet has attempted to express the meaning of the Tenth. We do, indeed, know more than any other people ever knew; and yet it may be that the race has forgotten many things. There are reasons to believe that a vast deal of knowledge perished with the Egyptians, with the

[1] Duruy (Grosvener, transl.), *Ancient History of the East*, p. 25.
[2] Charlotte Gilman, *Human Work*, chapter iii.

Chaldeans, with the Greeks, with the Romans, with the Arabs, with the Venetians, with the Moors. And yet no serious man would challenge the proposition that Germany, France, England, America, or Japan, knows more than any earlier nation, not excepting Greece "in her glory's prime." Not only do we know more, but much of our knowledge is now set in order, in systems, in sciences. This orderly knowledge is the key to education. It is, in truth, a partial discovery of the *logos* (λόγος) without which was not anything made that was made.[1]

"The belief that the course of events and the agency of man are subject to the laws of a divine order, which it is alike impossible for any one either fully to comprehend or effectually to resist — this belief is the ground of all our hope for the future destinies of mankind." [2]

In a certain sense, it is the race rather than the individual that has been educated, for the individual of these later times inherits the results of the experiences of the individuals of the past. The total of these experiences is the racial culture, expressed partly in laws, customs, institutions, habits, and notions, and partly in ideals and standards not reducible to words or forms or habits, which we may call the human spirit or wisdom. That

[1] πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν. Literally, all things came to be through (*via*) this (λόγος, thought), and without this no [existing] thing came to be. ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ [ἦν], καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. What began in this was life, and the life was the light of (the) men. John, *Gospel* i, 3, 4.

This passage is truly Platonic. It glorifies the Idea (ἰδέα), of which the human mind (νοῦς) is but a form. Plato, *Phædo*, 96; *Timæus*, 51; *Philebus*, 54; *Sophist*, 256; *Theætetus*, 184, 186, and many other passages.

The teaching is that the Reason (God) created the cosmos, and that His light forever shines in every individual man in the cosmos. These "own" of the Reason, His "idiots," do not understand Him. But such as do understand Him (in so far as they understand) become His offspring not from the flesh or their own desire but from God (ἐκ θεοῦ, from the Vision, θεός, of the Light, φῶς, sent by the Reason, λόγος).

[2] Thirlwall, *Remains*, iii, 282.

the race has been educated, and that individuals partake, some largely, some but little, some scarcely at all, in this racial education is the common belief: if it be but illusion, then humanity is insane, too insane to recognize in any degree its essential madness.

The relations of the individual to the racial culture are two; discrete, independent, necessary. One relation is that of the bondman, the other that of the heir. Birth brings with it conditions of environment, conditions filial, ecclesiastical, political, physical, economic, from which escape is absolutely, at least for all practical purposes, impossible. In this relation, one's education is more than compulsory, it is inevitable. So inevitable is it that we speak generally of it as "rearing" or "breeding" or "parentage." We often forget that for a child of good parents to become good is a matter not of nature but of education; so also with regard to the aristocrat, the healthy, the rich. The truth of this we recognize at once by postulating the opposite: imagine a child born of poor, sickly, outlawed, sinful, unkind parents, who cast him out as a foundling, and adopted by sensible foster-parents, entirely opposite in character and station. By common consent, these new parents have before them a work of education. The child has escaped from one bondage to another. He has changed one fate for another. Even the Gospel, which fulfills the Law, is a schooling.[1]

The other relation is that of heir. This is obviously, apparently, openly, a relation of education. The heir inherits all, but, of course, can really possess only that which he understands, appreciates, and uses. In these times, one's property may far exceed his possessions; this is no less true of culture than of wealth. The bondage of the environment compels adjustment to facts;

[1] "The law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ." Paul, *Galatians* iii, 24. Literally, the law (the culture from the past) became our pedagogue unto Christ. Also Matthew, *Gospel* v, 17, 18.

this is the natural or necessary or inevitable education; but the heritage merely offers opportunities, and whatever education may result is voluntary. As certainly as the heir of the millionaire may renounce his inheritance of wealth or waste it, so certainly may the heir of the scholar refuse or ignore his inheritance of knowledge. And we are all heirs: of wealth, in public buildings, parks, roads; of knowledge, in books, arts, minds.[1]

Every inheritance is conditioned by the ability to enter in. The lazy, stupid heir to a fortune is no less and no more subject to this condition than is the lazy, stupid heir to knowledge and to art.

It has sometimes been said that while one may or may not be an heir to wealth, every one is an heir to the culture of the ages. This is a careless but dangerous fallacy. The boy of quick and retentive mind is a possible heir to the world's knowledge; but he cannot qualify unless given health, time, and opportunity. He must have either parents or guardians able and willing to support him in study, and also school, library, and laboratory in which to study. Moreover, he must have surplus energy for study.

There is a feature of the physical and the psychical inheritance to which education must give greater consideration. There is a catharsis due to satiety of experience in parents that forefends children from repeating their lives or powers. In the child of the skillful manual laborer, motivation functions not in bodily technique, but in spiritual activity. The ancestors live in their descendant a new mode of existence. The energy of the soul functions differently. Here democracy, denying class and caste, denying "like father like son," asserting the value of "fallow ground" and the necessity of opportunity, is true at once to the biologic law of variability and the physiological law of cross-functioning in heredity.[2] Parents acquire qualities for their children to use. It is a psychological exposition of the Second Commandment.

[1] Butler, *Meaning of Education*, pp. 17–31.

[2] Patten, *Heredity and Social Progress*, chapter iii.

With every item of inheritance actually possessed, utilized, assimilated, change takes place in the soul of the heir. Most of the changes may be slight, too slight for observation, but the sum of the changes, their direction, their influence, and the nature of the series are unmistakable.

Even adult men are educable and often educated by new heritage. We are all familiar with the phenomenon of the poor person gradually or suddenly acquiring or receiving riches. Proceeding from two to three dollars a day; from nothing in the bank to a thousand dollars saved; from poverty to affluence; from homelessness to family and land; from subjection and irresponsibility to power and obligation; from ignorance to some knowledge; from little knowledge to great; from awkwardness to skill; from fault and folly to virtue and judgment: whatever be the stages of progress, each new stage in change is invariably accompanied by change in the soul. The person who is just the same as before is unknown and inconceivable. The science of human nature is so far advanced that from every change we expect what we call a "result."[1] We expect the man grown famous to be increased in self-confidence, and the man grown rich to be increased in authoritativeness. We have, in fact, a complete catalogue of labels ready for the inventory of the effects of change: conceit, egotism, breadth, pride, arrogance, generosity, etc. Some results we call good, others bad; but all of them we recognize as familiar evidences of education.

Unfortunately, these changes do not always lead in the direction commended by society. We speak, therefore, of being "well" or "badly" educated; and, in general, we agree that to be well educated is to be educated

[1] Royce, *Outlines of Psychology*, p. 375. His classification of mental phenomena under the three heads of sensitiveness, docility, and initiative; that of Tarde, *Social Laws*, under the heads of repetition, opposition, and adaptation; and that in this text, intelligence, efficiency, and morality; should display the modes of psychology, of sociology, and of education in dealing with the same phenomena.

in such a manner as to repeat the qualities of the best of times past and present or to anticipate the qualities that the faith of common humanity presents as certain to characterize the society of the future, while to be badly educated is to manifest the qualities of the worst, or to resurrect the qualities that the verdict of common humanity condemned and thereby destroyed in the society of the past. Once all men were thieves: in our loose speech, we allow ourselves to say that a youth may now be educated into the thief. Chastity has become a female virtue; and will yet become the common virtue of men: a youth may now be educated in that virtue.

So constituted is the human mind, however, that almost always we think of the good rather than of the bad kind of anything that has more than one kind. "This was a man," said Shakespeare.[1] "Take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again." The poet meant, and we recognize, a good man. So when we speak of education, by common usage and acceptance, we mean the good education. Similarly, civilization has its good and its evil meanings. If the "city is civilization," a common adage, the profit thereof may indeed be challenged as to whether it offsets the loss to mankind. There is a good civilization; and there is a bad. Marcus Aurelius could no more save Roman civilization than Lot could save Sodom. And yet, though both good and bad civilizations were and are realities, when we speak of civilization, we mean that which is good.[2]

If it be asked, how civilization in seeking to protect the unfit from the operation of natural law can be evil, we must reply sadly that many of the unfit are morally unfit; whom civilization perforce keeps alive. Of this, the cured and unrepentant victims of the social evil are conspicuous

[1] *Julius Cæsar*, act v.

[2] This is in obedience to the familiar social law of optimism. Cf. Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 154–55.

examples. The very triumphs of medicine and of surgery often restore to their deadly work in society those whose mission is the injury of mankind.

The education that is good conspires with the civilization that is good to redeem man from his past, from the world, from himself, for the future, for the larger life, for the infinite heart whence man came.[1]

[1] Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, p. 56.

CHAPTER IV

PERSONAL SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN LIFE

'T is not in mortals to command success,
But we 'll do more, Sempronius; we 'll deserve it.

ADDISON, *Cato*, I, ii.

The anguish of the lost ones of this world is not fear of punishment. It was and is the misery of having quenched a light brighter than the sun; the intolerable sense of being sunk; the remorse of knowing that they were not what they might have been. — ROBERTSON, *Sermons, Luke x.*

For my part, I sympathize sincerely with all failures, with the victims of society, with those who have fallen, with the imprisoned, with the hopeless, with those who have been stained by verdicts of guilty, and with those who, in the moment of passion, have destroyed, as with a blow, the future of their own lives. — INGERSOLL, *Crime against Criminals.*

THE purpose of systematic education is to develop a successful life. But what is a successful life? What is success? To secure or to endure systematic education is so far to be successful; and yet the thoroughly educated are not always successful in life. The school is not life, as commonly understood, but preparation for life.[1]

What proportion of human beings are successful? The answer is entirely a matter of standards and of definitions. It may be profitable to inquire briefly into the subject.

The Arabians said, "Call no man successful until his death." The same thought may be found in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*.[2] Even then the verdict may be premature. In truth, it is not for man, in any serious sense, to pass upon this matter. "Judge not, that ye be not judged"[3] applies to this as well as to every other

[1] Life, cf. *Leib*, body, implies fullness of life, adult life, maturity, the pragmatic stage, action. Rosenkranz, *Science of Education*, *passim*. The school is not life, but leisure.

[2] Myers, *The Oldest Book in the World*, p. 101.

[3] Jesus, quoted by Matthew, *Gospel*, chapter vii, 1.

aspect of our relations to our fellow men. "Do not judge by appearances," at any rate, as the proverb says. Neither judge by the general verdict. Reputation has no dependable relation to success, or to character, or to fact. A Roman poet,[1] two thousand years ago, exposed the valuelessness of rumor.

Success is not always a matter of the entire life. The greatness of Gladstone was not of single acts or of a single epoch; he grew with the years; only old age could limit his ever-increasing usefulness. Not so with that abler and perhaps also more important contemporary, Bismarck, who outlived his own historical self. Napoleon, who in all the annals of mankind yields place only to Cæsar, saw Waterloo after Austerlitz, and displayed at St. Helena the petty weaknesses of human nature. The Roman, whose greatness in action is incomprehensible, was perhaps fortunate in his death.

Some of the great drew upon "the two worlds" of truth and of falsity, of fact and of fiction, of love and of hate, in order to win. Of course, they doubled thereby their present resources, for the liar, the visionary, and the murderer escape the limitations of the truth-speaker, the man of fact, and the lover of his kind. Of them, history, as its ethical standards rise, is constantly revising its verdict.[2]

Success is not always a matter of general accomplishment. Washington, who is revered by us perhaps beyond any other man excepting Lincoln, was successful alike as a soldier, as a legislator, as an executive, and as a man of affairs. Not so with Daniel Webster, who had but one surpassing power, the persuasion of men to high thinking in the State. So Luther excelled only in the construction of a new Church. Dante, Cromwell, Kant, Marian Evans, were all comparatively narrow. But few may, like Alexander, reconstruct a world.

[1] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, book iii.

[2] Lea, "Ethical Values," *American Historical Review*, January, 1904.

Success is not always a matter involving conformity in all particulars to the personal morality of the times. The plain people have been extremely lenient with those able to render large social service. There is perhaps something in the wear and tear of body and of soul in great affairs, that weakens and distresses the great man in his personal relations. Abraham, Solomon, Pericles, Shakespeare, Goethe, Byron, Franklin, rendered their services to mankind, and passed on, forgiven.[1]

We number among the great some of the sinners and the criminals of their countries and ages. Many a prophet might have gone to his king with that awful, righteous, and final sentence, "Thou art the man."[2] Knowing as we do that sometimes the poisoner, the murderer, the adulterer, the drunkard, the thief, the forger, the liar, the traitor, the miser, the slayer of nations, the debaucher of peoples, has not failed of success, educators must face many an embarrassment.

Success is not always a matter of recognition at the time. What Greek dreamed that Aristotle would rule the intellectual world for two thousand years?[3] To his own generation, Shakespeare was only a good business man. Perhaps he scarcely suspected more himself. We, not his contemporaries, have made the fame of Galileo. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides loomed large in their own day, in their own little city; Michael Angelo and Raphael were the great artists of their times; all Frenchmen knew Voltaire and Victor Hugo; but in their own lifetimes, Keats, Poe, and Whitman had only small

[1] Many "true" biographies (i. e. those which expose the weaknesses, the errors, even the vices, of great men) are often really false because the perspective of values is false. To forgive is not to ignore; and to ignore is not to condone.

[2] 2 Samuel xii, 7. The rebuke of David by Nathan.

[3] There are certain signs of an Aristotelian "revival." Cf. Pollock, *History of the Science of Politics*. Turner, *History of Philosophy*. Aristotle was never confused as to the nature of success.

audiences compared with those after their bones rested in the grave.

And success is seldom evidenced by accumulations of property. Who cares whether Copernicus or Columbus left fortunes? Crœsus made Cæsar, and Mæcenas made Virgil, so they say; and therefore we remember Crœsus and Mæcenas. Jesus had not "where to lay His head." [1]

It is possible to defy one's age and to be remembered as its peculiar glory. Socrates drank the hemlock as ordered by Athens; and John Brown died upon the scaffold of the State of Virginia. Will their names ever perish? It is not even necessary to be either right or successful. Robert E. Lee was wrong in war and failed to win; and yet we love him and count him among the great. Shelley was wrong in his morals, and often in his moral teaching, as was Byron also; yet who will deny either his fame or his success?

I have written of the greatest of mankind. Each conveys some lesson, whether the individual be Homer, Buddha, Confucius, Moses, Æsop, Paul, Cæsar, Augustus, Attila, Charlemagne, Elizabeth, Louis Fourteenth, Cromwell, Peter, Catherine Second, Frederick, Jefferson, Thackeray, Scott, Emerson.

I might write of lesser persons, such as we meet every day. We know, as a matter of common sense we must know, that deathless fame among men is by no means proof of real success. The "monuments" of the Nile Valley and of Mesopotamia record the names of few save the kings. Many of these kings were almost total failures. The immortal Cleopatra was a failure. Beyond peradventure of doubt, thousands on thousands of Egyptians and of Mesopotamians lived successful lives. Who believes that the only record is that of earth? Only he who, believing this, believes also that life is not worth while, though a success. No educator

[1] Matthew viii, 20. A saying of Jesus'.

can sincerely deny the possibility at least of some other record, for to deny some other existence, some other fame, is to deny the substantial value of education.[1]

Education is not an end in itself. Life, however, is such an end; life, not living merely. Life is an end in itself, because life has no conceivable end.[2] To contribute to the fullness of life is the end of education, which has limits only in its own methods and in the educability of the individual. When education has done all that is possible to itself, it necessarily terminates in its own end, which therefore must be considered as mediate to life. Obviously, therefore, true success, which is the only kind of success to be regarded by the educator, is largeness of life, which of necessity is a notion varying with all varieties of individuals. And yet the thoughtful must recognize that to live narrowly, to live for the day, to live unrelated to the great institutions and forces of society and to one's individual fellow men, is to live but in part and not vigorously. The difficulty of the social philosopher is to devise a system of education that arouses and organizes activity in insight and outlook, and thereby produces the thoughtful.

For, in real life, most persons are not thoughtful, and therefore are not essentially successful. When from among those reputed successful, we have eliminated the many who have gone upward from below to notoriety without worth and to power without value to themselves or to other men, the remainder is very small. Is it, then, true that all of those of no repute and of those reputed to be unsuccessful are really failures? Of course not; but the presumption is against them. We are dealing here with a matter of much subtlety. Dante lived so

[1] "If there be no second life,—*pitch this one high*," cried Matthew Arnold (*The Better Part*). In the form stated, the *non sequitur* is obvious and significant.

[2] Plato argued this out to a finality, quoting Socrates. See especially the *Phædo*, 49, *et passim*.

deep in life as not wholly to be known to his contemporaries. The immortal Italian was not a successful man of his times. He appeared to them a failure. No doubt among men now there are thousands on thousands who live deep in life, a silent folk, building themselves and supporting others. The true success of most of them will never be revealed on earth in their own days or after their death. And yet, according to the measure of their worth and of their service, we ought to call them successful. Most men and women are failures, and most of us know that we are.

This fact appears upon consideration, for unhappily it is susceptible of proof by demonstration.

Of property, few leave at death more than they received at birth; and many have received from others more than they have returned. This is not always a matter of fault, though it is a matter of fact.

Of religion, few manifest the fruits by the peaceful works of the spirit. "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."[1] Were this not an irreligious age, as it unmistakably is,[2] there might be some discussion upon the point as to whether most individuals are religious. Not to confuse morality with religion, let it be observed that the decline of charity and the increase of worldliness are too patent to permit discussion. Consequently, whatever may be the success or failure of most persons, considered broadly, their failure in religion must be admitted.[3]

[1] Literally, Worship clean and stainless before the God and Father is this very thing, — to watch over orphans and widows in their distress, to guard one's self spotless from the times. James *Epistle* i, 27. In that Roman age, the passage was most significant. It is scarcely less significant in ours.

[2] *Per contra*, Donald, *The Expansion of Religion, passim.*

[3] This failure of the many in religion must not be taken as a failure of religion itself.

Evidence of an irreligious age is seen in the fact that in most cities, should all the people desire to attend worship, not one in five or in some instances not one in ten could find seats, while nowhere is it necessary for all the churches to resort to successive services with admission by card to prevent repetition of attendance. Again, this popular failure in religion is seen in the fact that the church, which symbolizes religion, no longer receives the services and products of the finest artistic talents. And it is seen in the disappearance of the church universal. Men are no longer born into the church. A majority of Americans live and die churchless; and the churchless man or woman is very seldom religious.

In marriage, in home, and in family, most men and some women are failures. Divorce, often amply justified by sins and even by crimes, prepares the way for bigamy and even for polyandry and polygamy. Often divorce is avoided only by continuance in unhappy marriage, so profaned by faithless husband or wife as to be unholy. Not a few married men and fathers provide first for themselves and last for their wives and children. Home life for most persons is no longer an entirety, a force in itself. No mere tenant can feel a deep affection for his house and land; he moves too often. Brothers and sisters part more easily in the twentieth century in America than ever they did in the dark ages of Western Europe. Too many men build houses, not homes; marry women, not wives; rear children, not families. The man and woman of property and of culture, marrying and bringing into life a normal number of children,[1] creating a home and establishing a family,

[1] There is a very general misconception of the functions of reproduction among mammals. Almost the entire burden rests upon the female. The appearance of a second, a third, or a fourth child weaker than the preceding is a neglected signal. The birth of constantly stronger children is a neglected command. The particular norm for the particular parents is determined physically by such indications as these. The average norm for the Teutonic race may be taken as four children born

are confronting the solid antagonsim of their class.[1] Few such persons care to rear families, while the ignorant, propertyless masses cannot do so in their poverty and ignorance in opposition to modern economic forces. They multiply; but they do not multiply homes.

In education and in culture, the failure of most persons is too familiar for discussion. Few ever realize their powers. Few ever learn the best that is known, thought, and done in the world. Prematurely arrested in development, shut away, often willingly, from art and knowledge, they exist in superstition and in dependence, the slaves of the world, unrelated things in an imperfect cosmos.

Of government, most men and women know nothing, even in democratic America. Why, then, does the Republic proceed? Because every society, once in motion, tends to increase in numbers and proportionately in wealth "to the point of diminishing returns,"[2] a point in most regions not yet reached by us; and because from the nature of the social conflict, the strong tend to rise to the mastery for which they are competent. Even democracy cannot prevent this.

Of course, the failures of men in business are so numerous as to have passed into a proverb, — "Ninety-five per cent of men fail in business." This has been a matter of statistics. Syndicates, trusts, corporations, rise solely by the defeat of competitors. The successful become multimillionaires, magnates, capitalists; the unsuccessful become their clerks; and the masses grind on. In what? Fortunately, the grinding of the multitudes is in the various cultural, commercial, and domestic arts. This it is that saves us, for as a people we are improving in scientific knowledge and in technical skill.

three years apart, with the mother passing from twenty-four to thirty-three years of age. Cf. *Sociological Papers*, ii, "Eugenics" by Galton.

[1] Rae, *Sociological Theory of Capital*, edited by Mixter, p. 358.

[2] Walker, *Political Economy*, pp. 51–54.

What, then, is it to be successful? The foundation of it is health of mind, a large view of things, vital, effective, vigorous relations to the world outside one's self, — a health that is conditioned, in part at least, upon one side or aspect, by health and by strength of body. And yet some have been successful despite ill-health, manifesting, indeed, the noblest evidence of character in struggle against physical weakness and disease. Some inheriting poor physiques have by intelligence built for themselves sound bodies. But to return: needlessly to sacrifice health bears witness to deficiencies of intelligence and of will, even of heart, for he who is an invalid because of follies has carelessly burdened his friends. Though he be rich, he is still a total loss to the economic world, rendering it no return for its rents, interests, dividends, and profits.

I call him successful who numbered a sufficiency of days; who found a deep satisfaction in life; who learned sympathy, patience, fortitude, courage, through trials; who brought himself to order and the things of the world to order in relation to himself; who promised within his power of performance and changed not, though promising to his own hurt;[1] who injured none more than himself, and desired not to injure even himself; who rendered to the world in product and in service more than he received; who lived as celibate in chastity or as husband in continence; who made of his body a temple for his soul; who loved truth and pursued it; desired freedom and granted it; was first just and then merciful; first honest and then generous; became disciple and apostle of the laws of essential Nature; and rejoiced to be a servant of God. Such a successful man is a living witness that material wealth should be a consequent, not a cause; and that it is not even a necessary consequent. After his death, his life becomes a delightful memory.

[1] David, *Psalm* xv, 4.

And him I call unsuccessful who by fault of his own failed of sufficiency of days to bring his soul to completeness; who found no meaning and satisfaction in life; who grew hard, impatient, timid, fretful; who became erratic and disorderly, and set the world about him in disorder; who in anxiety for the morrow promised more than his power to fulfill, and being hurt, shrank from paying all; who injured himself or others, debasing life from its purposes of joy and delight, — purposes inalienably the property of all living things; because of whom the world was poorer in material wealth; who by unchastity and incontinence defiled life at its fountains; who forced his soul to abide in a body degraded into a mire or etherealized into a shadow or converted into a prison; whose yea was not yea, nor his nay, nay; who accepted servitude and enforced it; founded mercy upon injustice and generosity upon dishonesty; preached and practiced the natural laws of the elements and of the brutes; and declined the service of God.

Clearly, and without exposition, the truth appears that to be successful, one must be intelligent, efficient, and righteous; and it needs no argument to show that in the final analysis intelligence, efficiency, and righteousness are one quality, goodness. This, however, being undefined, does not necessarily carry correct and adequate meaning.[1] We mean not good as antithetical to evil, not good as antithetical to bad, but good as worth while because it realizes life; and, therefore, we mean good as antithetical to harm. Finally, upon all these considerations, and upon many others that are derived from common sense, we know that to be successful is to fill life to overflowing, while to fail is to deny life content, meaning, use.[2] The application of this principle becomes

[1] Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals*, edited by Tilly and Houseman, p. 8.

[2] "While from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have." Jesus, Luke, *Gospel* viii, 18. The context shows

increasingly easy and clear to the candid who desire success and depart from the pathways of failures ever crossing the "narrow way unto life." [1]

It would be presumptuous for humanity to expect to know either the why of life or the object assigned to us by the Creator; and very few individuals have displayed the desire to know either the final "whence" or the final "why." [2] The goal is not in sight. We may believe as Wordsworth sings, —

> "The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar." [3]

But though we inquire with Darwin what is the origin of the physical body, and expect to learn the truth some day, we do not expect in this finite life to learn when or how we were set apart from the infinite, or when or how we are to return again. [4]

The soul in humanity that conditions the conscience of every individual, whatever be its origin, whatever be its coloring by physical being, knows true success and discriminates it from failure. And every educator owes

unmistakably that understanding of life is the subject under discussion. Consider also the parable of the talents, Matthew, *Gospel* xxv, 15 *et seq.* Jesus saw and taught perfectly the meaning of success and failure, and reiterated the principle involved.

[1] Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel* vii, 14. ὅτι . . . τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν. Because confined (literally, pressed in) the road leading into the life (of doing unto others as one desires them to do unto one's self). This teaching immediately follows the "Golden Rule." The pressing nature of such a course in life is due to the necessity to limit one's freedom by constant consideration and sympathy for others and by frequent self-denial. And yet this is the very way to save one's own life. Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel* xvi, 25.

[2] Tyler, *The Whence and the Whither of Man;* James, *Immortality.*

[3] *Intimations of Immortality.*

[4] Jesus seems to have meant us to understand that the soul comes immediately from God and not *via* heredity, in parts, or *via* transmigration, as a unit. This is consonant with his view of the soul after death. *Per contra*, Beecher, *Conflict of Ages*, p. 242; Hall, *Adolescence*, chapter x.

it to every pupil to be certain that he discriminates success and failure and teaches his pupil so to discriminate. Moreover, every individual must be careful as to following examples and taking advice. Bitter truth though this may be, the failures cannot give good advice, nor are their examples either to be accepted or rejected, but to be ignored. The most successful give the least advice; and their lives are often so high and remote as to be beyond the vision of others, who are denied, therefore, knowledge of them as examples. It should be a principle of life, first to determine whether this or that man is successful, truly successful, in affairs worth while, — marriage, parentage, business, property, government, religion, culture, the practical arts and knowledges, — before accepting him as an example, or even considering his advice. This involves individual thought, and upon proper occasion, action that flies in the face of all social imitation.[1]

Such self-alienation from society, from one's own friends, from one's own past, is absolutely essential to the life of continuous progress.

[1] Tarde, *Social Laws*, chapter ii; Ross, *Social Control*, chapter v; Le Bon, *Psychology of Socialism*, pp. 89–103; Baldwin, "The Final Conflict," *Mental Development: Social and Ethical Interpretations*, p. 539.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION IN RELATION TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MORALITY AND TO SOCIAL AND PERSONAL PROGRESS

Education is the most important subject in which we as a people can be engaged. — LINCOLN, *Sangamon Address.*

We should so live and labor in our time that what came to us as seed may go to the next generation as blossom, and that what came to us as blossom may go to them as fruit. This is what we mean by progress. — BEECHER, *Life Thoughts.*

Always add, always proceed: neither stand still nor go back nor deviate. Be always displeased at what thou art. If thou sayest, "I have enough," thou diest. — SAINT AUGUSTINE, *Sermon, De verb. apost.* (p. 196, *Quarles' Emblems*).

A VASE of potter's clay stood in rain and in sun. There it had rested since the time whereof the memory of man ran not to the contrary. One day water pure as crystal began to well up within it. Day after day the water rose more and more freely, till at length it began to overflow. Thus the vase became a well of water. In this manner, the soul came to fill and to overflow the creature man.

When came the water that overflowed the vase was mystery. When comes the life that overflows the flesh is mystery. All that we know is the fact. But we feel that the soul springing up in us is the life eternal. We cannot conceive its beginning or its end; nor can we know its nature. The mystery of the beginning and of the end and of the nature of man we say is of God, who is the sum and the essence of all mystery, yet more real than any visible, tangible, spatial, temporal reality. Visions, truths, wisdom, understanding, morals, inventions, ideas, come flooding into man; and whence? We say from God. And whither? We dare not try to answer. And why? To serve the purposes of God.

Who is God?

A universe answers, "I am."

Man hears, "I am."

Definition? That is unthinkable. There are some who call whatever of the universe is understood by them knowledge, and the rest they call mystery or God; and there are some who call whatever they understand God, and whatever they cannot understand they call mystery or Devil.[1] Who are we to pronounce that for which we are not responsible good or evil? Our concern is solely with and in ourselves, as individuals and as humanity. Therefore, because man can hear the voice of "I am," man also knows himself as "I am," and becomes a living soul, in the image of "I am." By this token, all the sons know the Father.

The animals of His creation may be conscious; but we have no evidence that they are self-conscious, as at times we are. Whatever be their case, it is ours to be conscious of ourselves and in that consciousness to hear His voice speaking as our conscience.

The truth is but slowly won. The friend grows upon us in the fashion of patient Nature, by stages. We may know him only after many years. Our education, too, is very slow: it proceeds by invisible increments. In us, there follows regeneration after regeneration; each regeneration is succeeded by a period when we are weak and docile after the manner of little children, viewing the new world with reticent yet curious surprise.

Through the education of the individual, new truth finds its way into the world.[2] By one and another, it grows among men.

[1] Baldwin, "Religion in History," *American Historical Review*, Jan., 1907, p. 227.

[2] "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." John, *Gospel* xiv, 6. Jesus as a teacher comes with His doctrine of brotherly love and service where

There is an education that invisibly modifies the color of life; and there is an education that turns black to white, darkness into light. In nature, the two are one; for a change in quantity becomes a change in quality, as when heat is taken out of water at the freezing point, and the fluid water becomes solid ice.

By new truth, each individual grows; and by nothing else whatsoever. God has so constituted man that he grows upon truth, and that he sickens and dies because of superstitions, lies, falsities,[1] when, recognizing them as such, he does not reject them forthwith. Likewise must society accept new truth and reject old errors.

The process of society is to develop new institutions after the need has become strong, and to destroy old institutions after their usefulness has ceased. A new institution is always the product of new truth discovered, formulated, interpreted, taught in word and represented in deed at first by some individual thinker and doer. An old institution always endures until cut away and overthrown by new institutions.

"New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth." [2]

Naturally, man is ready for new truth upon which to feed his soul: but each man for himself discovers only a little new truth. As the lonely cultivator of the soil, without tools, without seeds, without markets, and without neighbors, can secure but scanty subsistence, so a man unassisted finds the field of thought hard and

two or three are gathered; and each learns His truth. This is true, of necessity, in modern psychology and in modern sociology, else these sciences would be such in name only. In social companionship, we discover the divine and universal soul.

[1] Ward, *Applied Sociology*, pp. 117, 235.

[2] Lowell, *The Present Crisis.*

sterile and small of yield.[1] Give the cultivator tools, seeds, neighbors, advice, and exchange of products; and his field will yield abundantly, and his house will be filled with goods. Such is human society. Give the lonely thinker books, ideas, companions, counsel, and opportunity for expression; and his character will develop resources, and his mind be filled with thoughts. Such is human education.

To say that no more may be brought forth (educated) from a man than was born in him is to utter a mere combination of words. There is no evidence to support this proposition. Grant everything to historical physiology and to tradition; and the saying is still without meaning. The nerve cells, and all other cells of the physical body, may be filled with capacities for this and that sensation or affection, handed down as the heritage of a million years of ancestral life; race may be permanently characterized fundamentally, structurally, and superficially in generation after generation; and son may be like father, scion proceeding *pari passu* with stirp: it still is obviously and essentially true that to pronounce the embryo or infant potentially the man, and the mind of the babe potentially the mind of the man, is really to assert their unlikeness and their inequality. So immeasurably disproportionate are the babe and the man that though ovum and sperm may dictate tendency, color, form, spirit, and norm, it is unthinkable that they dictate substance or content, whether of flesh or of ideas. Exactly as the physical body grows by gathering fluid, cell, and tissue from the material world, so the mind must grow by gathering motive, idea, and notion from the spiritual world.[2]

[1] Mazzini, *Duties of Man*, pp. 74, 93 (Venturi, transl.). George, *Progress and Poverty*, p. 355.

[2] Lodge, "Life," *Hibbert Journal*, in *Littell's Living Age*, January 27, p. 252.

In this aspect, therefore, education is non-existent and impossible. The exact opposite is true. The man is not educated out of the boy; but inducted into him. The boy is grown by the metabolism of food into the man; and education is put into the boy. This aspect, however, is only one side of the shield of truth.

By nature, man is spiritually hungry for ideas, yet has characteristic tastes that govern his selection of ideas. Accepting as food the agreeable ideas, he grows upon them; and this growth by ideas is education, formal and informal. Let it not be supposed that feeding upon ideas is mere accumulation of ideas. *Some ideas are remembered as such: others are assimilated beyond recall as such, to function later in the mode of will as motives, or in the mode of feeling as ideals, or in the mode of intellect as judgments.*[1] Let it not be supposed that the ideas really valuable in the education of a man are those which he remembers as such for recall *in modo et forma.* These are indeed less likely to be valuable than those which, destroyed in form and in mode, survive in the higher powers of motive or ideal or judgment. Nor, on the contrary, let it be supposed that the remembered ideas were indigestible but not rejectible.

Most facts and most propositions are absolutely rejected or completely ignored by the mind to which they may be expressed. A few are accepted and disappear, being perfectly assimilated. They become part and parcel of the man at the time or for life, but lie in him beyond recall of consciousness. They are as completely forgotten as the food of days remote. Other ideas persist, sometimes for occasional recurrence upon suggestion or recollection, sometimes for periodical or even familiar presence in consciousness. What in us is of heredity we may class within the term instincts; what is of occasional recurrence upon recollection we may

[1] Bagley, *The Educative Process*, chapters viii, xiv.

class under ideas;[1] what is of occasional recurrence upon suggestion we may class under notions; what is of periodical but infrequent presence we may class under purposes; what is of periodical and familiar presence we may class under affections; while what is perfectly assimilated beyond consciousness we may class under habits, and what is habitual and affirmative or active we may class under motives. However we may classify, in some system of psychological terminology or nomenclature, these ideas, instincts, passions, affections, pains, pleasures, fears, desires, sorrows, joys, griefs, anxieties, traits, habits, notions, purposes, emotions, prejudices, fancies, thoughts, motives, we know that they make us what we are, both second by second and also by our lives. They constitute our characteristics; to us, they are reasons or as reasons; in us as seen by others, they are the causes of our actions by which alone they know us: in the eyes of Him who sees all of us, they are ourselves, — our dispositions, characters, souls.[2]

In a certain sense, the community has a disposition, a character, a mind, a soul.[3] To other communities, it appears to possess characteristics that cause its actions. Its own citizens assign to these characteristics the dignified term of reasons. Obviously, the community is no real, integral entity, but merely a convenient term by which to express consciousness of kind, neighborliness,

[1] This word may be used in three several senses: (*a*) an image present in consciousness, immediately derived from sensation (that is, of peripheral origin); (*b*) an image present in consciousness by recall from previous experience (that is, of central derivation); and (*c*) a process, a thought, a series. Cf. Titchener, *Outlines of Psychology*, p. 7.

[2] The text here is a mere analysis which, as Kant shows, adds no knowledge. My purpose is simply to express upon the principle of Fichte a rethinking in self-consciousness of the experience familiarly presented as a complete whole in direct consciousness or as disjunct units in a confused subconsciousness. Kant, *Transcendental Analytic*, § 15; Fichte, *Wissenschaftslehre*.

[3] Bosanquet, *Aspects of the Social Problem*, chapter xviii.

the common interest and associated action of individuals. Obviously, therefore, the morals of a community can be changed only by a change in the morals of one and another of its individuals.

The change in the morals of the individual must be such as seizes upon the imagination of the others or comes with a compelling conviction into their conscience. A city government may be corrupt; and every one may know or at least suspect it. Meanwhile, all tolerate the wrongdoing and companion or ignore the wrongdoers. A single protestant can sometimes destroy the whole "mind" of the community by sounding the discordant note of reform by word and deed.

Where factions exist, there the individual can do but little. In a city of factions, there is no characteristic social mood.

Whatever the individual gains in life beyond his inheritance must come from the life "within the veil." The individual must draw from the universal. His obligation, therefore, is that of the honorable transmitter of the gains in no wise to be credited to his own merit. Moreover, he who really does serve as a conduit of thought, who is in any sense a prophet or inventor, always, necessarily, and inevitably seeks to convey his new truth to his fellows. This is the cause of all progress, the origin of all martyrdoms, the first stage in the process of all human improvement.

Education as a formal system cannot and does not try to provide these new ideas and ideals; but whereas ordinary society always, necessarily, and inevitably resists the new idea, puts it to the proof, and usually rejects it, education is ready to offer its machinery for the propaganda of the idea. In this respect, education in the form of the school and culture in the form of the university are allies, but with different motives. Education desires to utilize the idea for the benefit of the learners, and really does give power to get the new, while culture tests the new, and, when it finds truth, desires to cherish it as

the heritage of the race. The result, of course, is finally the same, — the good of mankind.

Education has two purposes, — the improvement of the individual and the maintenance of the community in civilization. By nature, one individual among many may rise through an unusual relation of receptivity to the universal life. By art, education proposes to bring the many others into relation with the ideas of the one; or, taking the matter more broadly and also more familiarly, education proposes two things, — to bring forty or seventy or one hundred or one thousand youth together so that the many, through books, arts, and teachers, may associate with and learn from the few of "original gifts;" and to bring to all the youth selected truths of the past as discovered and assembled by the best.

But for schools, how many would hear "the best that is known and thought in the world"? But for schools, how many would know anything of Lincoln, Emerson, Carlyle, Shakespeare, Luther, Plutarch, Cæsar, Plato, even of the Master?

The argument, no doubt, involves acceptance of the proposition that one who cannot originate thought may yet apprehend it upon its presentation:[1] in short, it postulates educability.

Civilization relies upon education to remedy the deficiencies and the defects of our human nature. It requires no argument to show that, without a system of education able to affect large portions of every population, our various cultures would soon disappear by the natural processes of death, which carries away the cultured, and of birth, which brings in the ignorant. Let education cease, and in ten years the centre of social gravity would move from the literates and the efficient to the illiterates and the inefficient; in twenty years, social chaos will then

[1] This is quantitatively the purpose of popular education. Ward, *Applied Sociology*, pp. 229–69, 309.

have ended in savagery. If education should cease, the entire structure of civilization — a structure built up through ten thousand years, obviously the human manner, the reflective disposition of man as a soul, a disposition harmonized through forty thousand years — would disappear in less than a generation. Conversely, education, as an informing and infilling process, builds up the morality of each new generation.

Education, in this sense, conditions civilization, for the essence of civilization is morality.

The importance of this principle appears upon a consideration of the fundamental laws of population, which are too familiar to require more than a summary here.[1]

Average humanity, the humanity of muscle, energy, and emotion, the "plain people," "real folks" (to use the terms of Lincoln and of Riley), tend to multiply, as a matter of course, by a geometric progression that characterizes the biologic world. Normal, healthy, sanguine humanity, parent of all optimisms, full of faith in the rightness of the universe of God, trusts the future implicitly to the All-Father. Its conscious life sets no barrier to the animal life. Such humanity, bearing in its heart the race, brings offspring into life naturally and frequently. It weds early, almost carelessly, and breeds in each generation for twenty years. Six, ten, fifteen children may be the issue of a marriage. Eight grandparents may have one hundred, two hundred grandchildren. Most offspring are mediocre like their parents, but there are some variants. Of these variants, a few are supernormal; most are subnormal or abnormal. The last die, or their children die, without issue. The superior variants tend to form classes, some economic, some cultural, some political. These superior classes produce also

[1] Patten, *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1905. Gide, *Principles of Political Economy* (transl. Veditz), pp. 66–9.

their variants. In every population, therefore, at any given time, we find the classes, relatively small in numbers, but great in authority, and the masses,[1] relatively large but in subjection to the few. Above the classes, issuing from them or from the masses, towers an occasional genius, mayhap so far in the blue of the future that most men cannot see his light. Between classes and masses are other variants, some from above and some from below. Lastly, below the masses, are the variants of degeneration.[2]

	the variants of genius . . .	.001 %
Classes —	the superior	10 %
	the variants of talent . . .	15 %
Masses —	the mediocre	50 %
	the inferior	10 %
	the variants of degeneration .	5 %

Now the classes do not multiply by geometrical progression or by arithmetical: they do not multiply at all. Genius is almost a childless stirp.[3] Men and women of talent, as a class, produce fewer children than their own number. The variants from the masses keep the classes filled. The reasons for the infertility of the classes are two; they are entirely obvious, historically certain, and inevitable. First, men and women of talent are by definition and of necessity absorbed in the intellectual life. This life is not physically procreative or emotionally parental. Talent is race-suicidal; it aborts from the main

[1] George, *Progress and Poverty;* Gumplowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[2] The discussion ignores what the man of the world cannot ignore, viz. the varying degrees of nutrition of these souls and bodies. Supernutrition (hypernutrition) afflicts one in a thousand. Subnutrition starves many. Malnutrition destroys a few. There is a malnutrition and there is a supernutrition of the soul as well as of the body. Often environment conspires with heredity to make or to wreck a soul. Gilman, *Human Work;* Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, p. 119.

[3] Within a few generations, even when a genius has children, his descendants disappear. This always happens when talent persists.

stock; it defies the physical. Wherein lies the second reason? Men and women of talent value themselves: married, as parents, they value their children. Knowing the persistent tendency of offspring to revert to the race-types of mediocrity, they assert in thought, in act, and in word the preferability of quality to quantity in children; which means simply that they produce few children and endeavor by education to insure their rising to the parental level. That this education to mental superiority still farther exhausts the physical vitality is obvious; for such education burns the candle of life fast even though, by reason of the poverty that usually, and almost necessarily in the modern economic régime, attends the mental life, it does not burn the candle at both ends. Of such education, insterility is the inevitable result.

As a formal system, education has three tasks. First of all, *education must help the nation to maintain the classes.*[1] To supply talent with material for growth (whether that talent be by heredity or by variation) is the chief duty of every national system of education. The duty forces society to educate the children of the classes, especially such as seem likely to become capable of performing the functions of the classes. This is a difficult enterprise, which necessitates preserving as far as possible the bodily health and efficiency of what is certain to be, by the second generation, a depleted stock. Even intermarriage with the men or women of the masses cannot wholly prevent such depletion; and it always imperils the heritage of talent.[2]

A more difficult enterprise for the maintenance of the classes, and *the most important of the three tasks of*

[1] The doctrine of the text is that there are two genuine aristocracies, — of native talent, and of educated talent. The safety of a particular civilization lies in their harmonious association.

[2] Woods, *Heredity in Royalty*, pp. 283, 292, 298.

education, is to utilize completely those variants from the masses who seem capable of rising into the classes. Upon the success of this enterprise depend the maintenance and the progress of every civilization. The classes may die away at the top without imperiling the nation, provided that the clever and industrious, the socially efficient, the best children of the masses, rise in sufficient numbers to fill the upper ranks. This is precisely the hope of American social democracy, and at the same time the peril of American economic feudalism.[1]

The third characteristic task of education is to prepare the masses for the routine work of the world and for appreciation of or submission to the classes. It is useless to disguise the fact that the mediocre man and the mediocre woman by definition cannot, and therefore do not, know certain things; as, for example, the meaning and the method of government, the purpose and value of art and of literature, the relations of the past and present, and the tendency into the future. I am far from supposing that any one, however able, however experienced, however cultured, really understands very much of the larger or of the higher life. Nor am I saying that the mediocre individual is blind, dull, insensitive to the tragedy and to the comedy of common life; but I am seeking publicly to dispel a possible illusion that by some manner of educational wonder-working slight ability and energy can be converted into great talent.

There is a familiar illusion that by election to office in State or in Church, an individual must become legislator or executive or judge or trustee in fact. This illusion is due to several circumstances. The individual may become an associate of perhaps really competent representatives of the particular institution, whose glory extends beyond themselves to him. Again, by experience in office, he may become competent himself. Lastly, by election, he appears to sum up the social

[1] Ghent, *Our Benevolent Feudalism: Class and Mass, passim.*

will, and is thereby dignified beyond individuality into democratic personality. By accident of fortunate choice that conspires with experience to bring the individual to wisdom, in a few instances the elected mediocrity by force of education in office becomes a capable person. It is the small number of such cases that justifies historically the interference of the classes by strategy and tactics to thwart the free choice of the democracy and to force the selection of the competent who, by present definition, belong to the classes.

Education, then, as a formal system contributes to progress certain rescued individuals, whose powers otherwise would remain asleep. It moulds the masses into convenient social forms and facilitates the expression of their mediocrity, which otherwise is usually suppressed and sullen. It cultivates the classes, particularly in respect to their health and strength.

Besides these three characteristic tasks, education has several other obligations to society. In respect to the natural genius, the obligation is first to discover him, then to renounce control over him, and, last, to serve him. To assert that the genius must submit to the law is a paradox to be accepted only upon subtle and complicated definition.[1] In respect to the idiot, to the defective, to the blind, the deaf, the crippled, to the incorrigible, the criminal, the parasite, the weakling, the obligation is first to diagnose his case, then to find, if any, the remedy, and last, if possible, to redeem him. Only the science of the future, only the hoped-for philanthropy of the future, only God, the mystery, the winner of human hearts, contains all the solutions of these afflicting, absorbing, insistent problems.

Education as a formal system has still another obligation to society, and one often subjected to bitter controversy. *Education must evaluate the sciences and the arts, the knowledges and the skills, the exercises and*

[1] Baldwin, *Mental Development*, vol. ii, p. 160.

the disciplines, the methods physical and the methods psychical, and must determine their use in its own enterprises. It must prescribe courses and create texts and lessons. In the performance of this function, education must endure at times even ridicule. Upon analysis, the obligation appears to be one essentially proper to education and calculated to elevate the school in dignity. The educator becomes the judge of history, its cultures, its men. And this is an eminently proper social function, for the past is valueless save as pedagogy;[1] and the dead are worthless save as the teachers of living men. Thus history becomes sacred, in that it guides life; and the dead live again in terrestrial immortality.

Wherefore, it appears that the best of men should be the educators of the men-and-women-to-be. And we are brought to the conclusion of Plato[2] that philosophers should completely rule society. The political problem is how to get them into office; the educational, how to produce them.

The man of the classes, according to educational theory, or to biological fact, may not be formally recognized as such by any actual community; and yet, beneath the forms, he will really be ruler. The old clothes, the begrimed overalls, the confined house, the petty income, and the narrow living of a common mechanic may conceal the inventor by whose ideas thousands or millions after his day may live. Fine clothing, a solitaire diamond, a brick mansion, free money, and generous hospitality may conceal the real clerk who obeys orders and rules no one. And yet "the classes" and "the masses," as these terms are generally used in history and in current speech, conform in most respects with the real classes and masses.

When education has created the universal School;

[1] Harrison, *Meaning of History*, p. 9.

[2] *The Republic.*

when the child is born into the School, as to-day he is born into the universal State, and as in earlier times he was born into the universal Church, — when education has come into its own as government has, as religion once more should come, — the educator will hold himself responsible for social as well as individual progress, and for social as well as individual morality. This will involve on his part discerning the signs of the times.[1] It will lift him out of particularism, beyond socialism, into humanity and eternity. Then he will ask of everything that he does, — Will this improve the race? Will it strengthen this boy or girl, this man or woman, in immortality? For humanity and immortality are inseparable from progress and morality. The good man and a fit race must work both for progress and for righteousness.

[1] Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel* xvi, 3–6.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAILURE OF EDUCATION

(*a*) SOCIAL CAUSES. (*b*) PERSONAL CAUSES

The results of American education have fallen far short of the hopes and expectations of its founders and advocates.

For millions of our children systematic education stops far too soon; and for millions of adults the mode of earning the livelihood affords so little mental training and becomes so automatic that mental training is seriously hindered, if not arrested. — ELIOT, *More Money for the Public Schools*, pp. 51, 48.

What we desire a youth to acquire is the power of overcoming difficulties and the corresponding habit of adequate achievement. — HANUS, *A Modern School*, p. 77.

Whoso neglects learning in his youth, loses the past and is dead to the future. — EURIPIDES, *Phrixas* (*Fragment*, 927).

EDUCATION cannot fail and never does fail; but attempts to educate often fail; and communities and individuals often fail to educate or even to attempt to educate. To say that a man's education has been a failure means that he has not had an education. We confront here unpleasant but by no means unprofitable facts. For want of proper personal and social motives and values, pseudo-educations abound.

Right social motives in education may be classified either in respect to society or in respect to the individual; that is, society through one or other of its several institutions may organize education with a view to what it conceives to be its own general interest, or with a view to what it conceives to be the interest of each particular individual to be educated. In the first instance, the motive of society is to maintain itself, perhaps even to improve itself. Society may more or less consciously, less or more unconsciously, through its present universal, integral, and independent institution, the State, and through its other institutions, intend to secure from

each generation leaders and disciples fitted to carry on the enterprises of civilization. Indeed, exactly this is being done, in China as in America, in Australia as in Argentina, in India, Russia, Germany, France, England, and Japan. In the second instance, the motive of society is very different, not antipodal, not antagonistic, but belonging to a different world; it is a motive with no logical end.[1] We like to believe in cause and effect; in a series of consequential events; in eye for eye, tooth for tooth; in nicely concatenated, logically related facts, reasons, and results, quantitatively and qualitatively measurable and measured. In education so much history, in life so much patriotism; so much civil government, so much citizenship; so much arithmetic, so much financial accuracy and acumen; so much literature, so much authorship; so much drawing, so much art; in education so many lessons in morality, in life so many virtues; thus we calculate, not altogether unsuccessfully.

The second social motive in education, without rejecting such calculations, utterly ignores them in theory and in practice. It recognizes that the soul of man is a strange alembic, producing sweet out of bitter, strength out of weakness, joy out of pain, life out of death, virtue out of vice, miracles without limit or end. Because without violence to logic and to experience, it cannot set evil to doing good, it discards every kind of casuistry. The boy treated with every kindness, supplied with every good thing of life, may grow up discontented, selfish, dictatorial, evil-minded. This, however, does not warrant deliberate education by unkindness and in poverty. Such a consideration floods the memory of every man and woman of experience with a tide of instances. We know from experience that poverty not reduced to destitution intensifies ambition; but we fear that its other results may

[1] For the distinction between motives *per se* and motives as ends, see Baldwin, *Elements of Psychology*, p. 282.

make this one good result far too dear. The exhaustlessness and exhaustingness of these calculations are sufficient warrant for neglecting them all; but they fail also because their results conflict and are therefore inconclusive.

As Art is different from and higher than work, as Art is not measurable in terms of work, so true education is different from and higher than social instruction and cannot be measured in the terms of preparation for social service. They who announce the philosophy of education for ends, — efficiency in this or that, appreciation of this or that, grace of life, business, and success, — must submit to the challenge of promoting ideas and customs of class, and, it might be said, of caste. If society has the right to educate a boy, a class, a school, a city, or a country district for anything in particular, — whether gardening or bookkeeping or dressmaking or authorship or carpentry or officeholding, — then society has the right to make social classes, even castes, of gardeners, of bookkeepers, of dressmakers, of servants, of officeholders, of warriors, of lords; for upon this supposition society is higher than the individual, and each one of us, each child of ours, is but a means to an end, whatever end society chooses.

Such an opinion breaks down from several causes. The educational process that is expected to end in assured habits, character, and intelligence may disappear in a drift or maze entirely unexpected, or it may issue in the very opposite from the intended. We have three typical instances: 1. The son of the carpenter, trained as a carpenter, becomes a very skillful carpenter. In this instance, heredity and instruction find, as it were, tilled and fertile soil, which bears fruit abundantly. Sometimes, the son of the carpenter, trained manually, manifests in mature life astonishing talents and skill in mechanical construction, displaying as it were the square or the cube

of his original powers. 2. Another son of a carpenter, similarly trained, escapes from this particular manual labor to achieve success or to sink in a failure in an unexpected but definite life, it may be of statesmanship, of literature, of commercial affairs, of war, or of journalism. Maturity seems to be a *non sequitur* from youth. This is as though the life-current had worn out certain areas of the brain and then had turned to irrigate new ground. 3. A third typical instance is that of the carpenter's son, trained to manual skill, who escapes from every kind of physical labor to become a dreamer or an idler, a wanton or a criminal. Here the life-current has worn out the familiar areas and broken away from all courses, inexplicably. Of these instances, the first is the most familiar, but the last occurs with sufficient frequency to warrant attention.

We may reverse the cases, and follow the son of the vagrant till he becomes the skillful mechanic or the broad-minded journalist or the strong manager of men. In this instance, the misty life of the parent falls as morning dew upon the child. It may, indeed, be an advantage that one's parents were not too intense and definite in their thought and labor.

This entire matter may profitably be reviewed in the light of the Hindoo caste system. In four generations, it may be, the efficiency of any stirp in a particular task is worn to shreds. Man is meant to be versatile. He whose sixty-four great-great-grandparents were each and all weavers may look upon weaving as his doom, and, as far as he has life at all, dream of any other life as bliss. To destroy a race, create caste in it. We of the free democracy take too short views: the son of the banker may be even more proficient as a banker, but in the fourth generation comes the dilettante or the artist or the philosophical or practical anarchist or statesman. The climax is in the third generation, then "back to the soil" of general culture.

Society should not educate for ends, because in the long series of generations such education is systematic

degeneration, and in the single generation is too often futile to warrant the effort. A second reason seems equally valid, and may appeal even more strongly to democratic souls. Of whom is the society composed that is to determine the ends of education? For man has not yet evolved any society, whether of family, of religion, of government, or of business, that has been without its head. This head is the executive of the society, and almost always executes a personal will. Here are ten boys of a village, ten thousand boys of a city. Who shall say for what ends each boy is to be educated?[1] It will not do to say, "Each boy himself," for the boy who desires to be a railroad engineer or a sailor and is immediately gratified usually exhausts in a very brief time this particular will. Not always, of course; but the foregoing discussion refutes this answer. Is each parent to decide? Or the town-meeting? Or the school principal? Who, then? Clearly, no one; no number or class of men. Until he is educated, not even the youth himself should determine what shall be his life-work.

Still another reason why education for an end or towards ends is unwarranted in science or in morals is that such education is seldom education at all, but at best mere instruction. Why set a boy with the soul of an engineer to the task of becoming a Latin poet? England tried that for centuries. The boy sickens or revolts or enters the treadmill; but he is not educated or developed or enlarged in any way. On the contrary, he is driven back upon himself, disintegrated, discouraged, narrowed, devolved, at best only trained. We should not educate for ends, because we cannot. All instruction for

[1] "In all ages and among all peoples, men have talked much of their own rights and of children's duties; we are beginning to assert children's rights and men's duties." Martin, "Child-Labor," *Proceedings National Educational Association*, 1905, p. 103.

an end is regimentation that reduces natural genius, talent, mediocrity, and inferiority alike into worse, and in the degrees of its extent and of its success confines the destiny of the race. The outcome of this pseudo-education is to compel the future to repeat, or to try to repeat, the past. All the retrogressive nations have been and yet are victims of education for definite or concrete ends. A certain nobility of character, a large intelligence, and a strong affection for youth are required in the parent, in the community, and in the nation when the elder and stronger renounce their power to direct towards ends the instruction of the younger and weaker. Yet it is wisdom to do this, for childhood is the fountain of life, and vaunting maturity is already threatened by the avidity of death. We are never so blind to what education really is as when we boast that we see it in some definite prospect in life for a particular child. They who teach the love of all truth, of all beauty, and of all duty, which are science, art, and the moral law, are the true educators. Like sanity and health, these are the only ends because they are also the beginnings of education, its conditions, limits, modes, its all-in-all. We seek the higher type, but cannot know what it is. They who seek constantly find.[1] But they who say, "Let us have more of such as now are," shall not have even these, for these who are now were found by seekers after higher types, "stalwart old iconoclasts," desiring a higher virtue than any yet beheld.

For yet another and a final reason, — the last and the sufficient reason, — education for ends breaks down and must break down in a free democracy in consequence of the rapid changes of its social structure. We cannot prepare for ends, for there are no ends. Everything is in process, is tentative, is a stage in the journey toward a

[1] "And you that shall cross from shore to shore years hence, are more to me and more in my meditations, than you might suppose."
Whitman, *Brooklyn Ferry*.

goal. He who comes out of school prepared to do some particular thing finds that thing soon changed to something else, — changed in its relations or in its spirit. Unless educated in power, in ingenuity, in character, the man finds that the world has moved away from himself irrevocably; he has lost his foothold, and can make no other. All educators know this, all educators understand this now and have always understood it; and this is the evidence, the sign manual of their fitness to be educators: to know that education is a thing in itself, the creation of new and better conditions of body and spirit, and never consists in things outside of itself.[1]

But the first and most general of the social causes of the failure to educate is exactly this, that they who are not educators, but in respect to education laymen, — whether they be clerics or clodhoppers, — believe in education for ends, as far as and whenever they believe in any education at all, nominal or in their own notion real. In a democracy, all these laymen vote, and by their votes they control, directly or indirectly, or at least condition and limit, the education proposed and desired by professional educators, whom, therefore, they are very apt to hold in a fine, or perhaps a coarse, scorn. Whatever be the mode by which democracy operates or is operated, the State is in some degree master of the School. Often, perhaps almost always, the State erects itself as the chief end of the School. Educators are to prepare youth for citizenship; such is the watchword and the catchword. Such an end, noble as it is when properly conceived, limits the reform of government, and, still worse, limits the growth of the soul. In their present servitude to

[1] "The educated man is he who consciously and deliberately holds an intellectual ideal of what he himself and other men are capable of becoming, and who, in some measure, has the knowledge and the skill to put this ideal into practice; he is trained to coöperate in the purpose of human progress." Gore, Birmingham Address, *Educational Review*, June, 1906. (Also *School World*, March, 1906.)

State or Church, educators are usually unable to conceive what they would do in freedom. The social order needs the criticism and the construction of the very best souls to be found by education in every generation, and of as many great souls as possible. These can be secured only by education free from all particular ends.

A lesser social cause of the failure to educate is disbelief in the reality or even the possibility of education. We talk of universal education in America, meaning that nearly every child goes to a school until twelve or thirteen years of age; but when we begin to think, we realize that most of the schooling is merely training, and that nearly all of it is soon forgotten in life, in the world's work, which begins for most of us before adolescence. Since by far the greater part of our society consists of persons not educated, the social disbelief in the reality of education is easily accounted for. Not infrequently this disbelief takes the irritating form of attributing to illegitimate and even unmoral causes the success of educated men. It is indeed difficult to persuade most men that the lawyer has risen to the bench, the mechanic to the directorate, the teacher to the superintendency, without resort to force or to chicanery. It is to be regretted that most men prefer to attribute the superiority of the few to the fortune of superior natural gifts or to the resort to devious methods, to lawbreaking, or to force. It is the exceptional uneducated man who sees that education, considered not as mere knowledge-having, but as improved power, has given a proper advantage to others over himself, or that it would have made himself able to render larger service in the world. The less cannot comprehend the greater, and seldom apprehends it, has any insight into it.[1]

[1] The method that brings genius and talent to fruition is the same method that develops in the rest of mankind power to assimilate their products. Cf. Ward, *Applied Sociology*, pp. 292–93.

While most persons have no faith in the reality of education, a few of these refuse to believe even in its possibility. These few assert that all talent is original, active, and obvious, and that what appears to be education is merely the possession of knowledge or of skill. Such persons, when logical, demand of the School that it sift the bright from the dull, the strong from the weak, the active from the lazy, and the good from the bad, reject all the latter, and supply all the former with knowledge and training in skill. Superiority, mediocrity, inferiority, is fate; and to superiority belongs the right to control and to enjoy the world. This notion afflicts the poor as well as the rich; and through many ages has caused the selection of the bright boy to enter the ministry or the priesthood while the others drift into drudgery, war, or trade. We hear everywhere the pitiless challenge, What is the use of trying to educate? Are not most persons born to obey? Classes and castes are natural.[1] Poetry is full of the challenge and of the angry defiance of this challenge.[2]

A fourth cause of the social failure to engage scientifically in education is objection to its results. This

[1] This, of course, is the burden of most poetry from Homer and Vergil to Scott and Tennyson. In politics, only modern democracy has ever challenged the proposition that "Nature" doth "complexions divide and brew." Dryden, *Oliver Cromwell.* See Pearson, *Science and the State*, Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. 32, p. x.

[2] E. g. Emerson, *Boston Hymn*: —

> "God said, I am tired of kings,
> I suffer them no more;
> Up to my ear the morning brings
> The outrage of the poor.
> . . . . . .
> "I will have never a noble,
> No lineage counted great;
> Fishers and choppers and ploughmen
> Shall constitute a state."

Cf. Story, *Io Victis*; Whitman, *Leaves of Grass — Heroes*; Lowell, *A Parable*; Burns, *Is there for honest poverty?*

cause is very closely allied to a fifth, which is mere avarice. The comparatively few who see that education is real may be divided into two groups, — those who see that its fruits are worth while and desirable, and those who deny this. True education assuredly leads out of the world, the age, away from its standards; it evaluates everything anew. The well-educated man or woman sees, as did Seneca, that a great property is a great servitude; as Marcus Aurelius did, that power delays the progress of the spirit. The moralists dwell much upon this aspect of education. But to some these new values set upon truth, beauty, and goodness appear foolish, especially foolish at the three costs. It is perfectly true, they may perhaps admit, that education is real and culture delightful; but they will not also admit that, as compared with the costs, education and culture are worth while.

The first cost is in money: public schooling at twenty to fifty dollars a year in elementary grades, more in high school and in university, private schooling at one hundred or one thousand dollars a year from kindergarten through professional school; total, from a thousand to ten thousand dollars, even more, and for what? To learn that we are to live for truth, goodness, and beauty, which neither clothe nor amuse us, but lay upon us heavy burdens. The second cost is in time. While the boy is growing up, he spends two decades, a third of life, in study; and he comes out with not a dollar to show for it all. He may not have acquired even a profession or an art by which to live. *Interim*, most other boys have made a start in business. But the third cost runs usually throughout life. To the average or median man, he who is well educated lives a life that appears to be a life of self-denial. This applies equally to the well-to-do educated man and to one who was born poor, has continued to be poor, and may perhaps prefer to be poor in material goods. The educated man takes life itself as a school,

considers its sole end, education, — that is, yet more life. He means to involve the world in himself, not himself in the world. Of course, to the owner of the park, palace, and picture-gallery, this doctrine of the man who prefers to understand and to enjoy rather than to possess and to guard may appear to be, in the phrase of Æsop, "sour grapes;" but it will not so appear to the owner who himself also is educated, for he knows that his real possession of park, palace, and pictures is his understanding of them. When entirely educated, he presents them to the public that all may see and understand them. Consider the difference between the soul of Millais, who painted pictures, and that of the ordinary millionaire who buys them; and answer which truly possesses the picture. Upon closer analysis, the denial of self is rather upon the part of him who accumulates wealth, and as price of product or of service or in endowment contributes from that wealth to the scientist, artist, or philosopher who has preferred life to things.

As far as the social failure to educate proceeds from unwillingness to expend money and time, it may be quantitatively measured. The cost of education is very small, indeed, in comparison with the cost of other good, as mankind chooses to value the good. The American people choose to measure the value of such education as they are willing to provide as one third that of tobacco annually, one fifth that of alcoholic drinks.[1] In educational plants, public and private, we have invested one tenth as much as we have in steam and electric railroad transportation. Statisticians may assert that there are other modes of education than those provided by schools and by colleges, and that transportation is educative; but we may answer, first, that much that is spent upon education never accomplishes or at least does not directly

[1]Chancellor, *Our Schools*, pp. 352, 360; *A Textbook of American History*, p. 544.

effect that purpose, and, second, that a very great part of all other expenditures is directly anti-educational and degenerative. The statistician then may reply: we cannot evaluate education in the terms of dollars and cents, and should compute rather the number of persons giving their lives to educational work as compared to the number doing other things. The teachers of America number two thirds as many persons as our tailors and dressmakers, and two thirds as many as our steam and electric railroad employees. The man who spends as much directly or indirectly for the education of a family of four children as upon tobacco for himself is the average man; as many spend less as spend more.[1]

But there are not only social causes of the failure of education: the personal causes are as potent and yet more numerous. Some of these personal causes may be classified, but others are essentially individual. Several causes are personal only in the immediate sense, for, traced remotely to their origins, these also are social. There are the two great physical causes, — lack of proper food, clothing, and sleep, so that the body cannot develop the surplus energy required for education; and bodies so badly constituted by heredity that their condition is not remediable in the immediate present. Poverty and heredity, separately or in conspiracy, prevent many and many a child from being educated. When the right of the child to all, if need be, of the surplus resources of a particular society above its actual total economic cost of living shall be established in public opinion by being understood, then the poverty of individuals and of the State will cease to be an excuse for leaving the child physically incapacitated for education, and poverty will cease to be a cause of individual failure to be educated, and slowly the heredity of the generations will

[1] *U. S. Census Statistics*, 1900.

be improved so that this, too, will cease to be a cause.[1] In that day, which lies in the path of the future, public education will no longer be merely an important "department" of general or local government, but will direct what little of government, in the sense of governing, may remain to do. *The right of the soul to as large a life as possible without limiting the life of any other soul is the paramount right in this world and in any and every other; and man grows into that right as certainly as he grows at all.* Time was when society rotated upon the axis of property. Time came when society rotated upon the axis of religion. Time proceeded until society found its axis in government. Time now is when society rotates upon the axis of business. And time will be when society will rotate upon the axis of education. Then mankind will know what modern philosophy now knows, that the Perfect established the imperfect that it might grow into the Perfect again.[2] As Tennyson sang,[3] —

> "Our wills are ours, we know not how;
> Our wills are ours, to make them Thine."

The universal process is education, an idea incomprehensible to all men five thousand years ago, but familiar to more and more thousands every year now, and soon to be the criterion of all the living. Evolution, as seen by man, is only informal education; unquestionably and questionlessly altogether formal, deliberate, and intentional in the mind of God.[4]

The personal failure of individuals to be educated has other causes than the physical as presented by poverty and by anæmic or defective heredity. From mere excess

[1] George, *Progress and Poverty*, chapter i. Cf. Maxwell, New York, *Report to Board of Education* for 1906.

[2] Weber, *History of Philosophy*, p. 527.

[3] *In Memoriam*.

[4] Cf. Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel* v. 18.

of physical life, of "animal spirits," some cannot submit to education. Were educators sufficiently numerous to reach all children and youth early enough and to keep them ever in relation to themselves, such cases would be few.

Some fail to be educated because of family or group environment, from not the general but the particular social conditions. Every influence outside of the school may be anti-educational.[1] It is needless to specify. Children with malicious fathers, mothers, relatives, companions, fall into evil circumstance at birth or in the course of their lives. Some are born malicious or self-willed or intense beyond possible recall to large intelligence, to industry, and to good will.[2] It is merciful that these cases are few; but they are indisputable. Not the foundling only, taken as an adopted son, but the son himself of the good mother and father, cherished for twenty years, at maturity "turns out bad," may, indeed, always have been "a bad boy." Of course, as a matter of physiology, we must believe that something is wrong in the convolutions of the brain or elsewhere, and, as a matter of theology, we must always believe that the real soul is good. But in point of temporal fact, what we find is a soul so conditioned physically that it seems set against truth, beauty, and goodness.

However, of not even the worst of these does the genuine educator allow himself ever to despair. He will seek them even in the penitentiary and in the brothel and try to reform them by education. The number of

[1] Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children, passim*; Hunter, *Poverty*; Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children*.

[2] "Our passions are the harshest of all tyrants; give way to them but a little, and we shall be in a state of ceaseless conflict, unable to breathe freely a moment. They betray and wring the heart; they trample reason and honor under foot: they never say, 'It is enough.'" Coit, after Fénelon, "Spiritual Letters to Men," cxxiii, in the *Message of Man*.

marvelous regenerations constantly grows.[1] Education is nothing but religion enlightened and energized, but always and essentially the religion of the faith that all are the sons of God, and that as long as He lives even the worst may be redeemed.[2]

[1] "One great thought breathed into a man may regenerate him."—Channing, *The Elevation of the Working Classes*, p. 414. The modern educational faith holds yet more strongly that one good art well learned regenerates with certainty. See *Reports, National Prison Association;* especially *Elmira Reformatory.*

[2] "The product of the ages past,
Heir of the future, then, am I;
So much am I divine that God
Cannot afford to let me die."

Savage, *My Birth.*

PART TWO

THE MACHINERY OF EDUCATION

The true source of the life of science is to be found in its mediation between spirit and mechanism, when it shows how absolutely universal is the extent, and at the same time how completely subordinate the significance, of the mission that mechanism has to fulfill in the structure of the world. — LOTZE, *Microcosmus* (Hamilton-Jones translation), vol. i, Preface, p. xvi.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRESENT SUBORDINATION AND DEPENDENCE OF THE SCHOOL

The schools, in general, have occupied an intermediate position between church and state, responding always to influences from both sides, but affected chiefly in earlier times by ecclesiastical considerations and in later times chiefly by considerations of a political character; and at all times they have been open to more diffusive influences, economic, literary, and social. — BROWN, *The Making of our Middle Schools*, p. 1.

The race that gives its children the most effective training for life, sooner or later, becomes a dominant race. The training of the young to skill of hand, to accuracy of vision, to high physical development, to scientific knowledge, to reasoning, and to practical patriotism is the best and cheapest defense of nations. — MAXWELL, "Education for Efficiency," *Proceedings National Educational Association*, 1905, p. 60.

And as in knowledge, so it seemed to us in life also to be the sum and substance of wisdom neither to neglect what is small nor to give it out as great; to be enthusiastic only for that which is great, but to be faithful even in the least. — LOTZE, *Microcosmus* (Hamilton-Jones translation), vol. ii, p. 728.

NAMES deceive and mislead. In elder times, a fever was a fever. Now we know that a fever may be typhoid or pneumonia or enteric or something else. To advance in knowledge, we must learn to discriminate. A college may be a business college or a college of pharmacy or a college of the arts and sciences. Schools are of two kinds, but of many classes. The first kind of school is the school for education; the other kind is the school for training. Schools for education may not be farther classified or resolved into groups. But of schools for training there are as many classes as there are purposes to which the training may be devoted. By definition, the school for training, whether that training be in bookkeeping or in military drill, in tinsmithing or in navigation, in teaching or in nursing, is not a true school, for that is dedicated to leisure. Growth of the mind can take place only in leisure, for when all the nervous life of the body is consumed by effort to conform to external requirement,

no surplus remains. The surplus of vital energy is the mother, the culture, the plasma of mental power. Persistence in nervous exhaustion makes ruin of the mind. And yet more delicately and subtly: Persistence in receptivity to suggestions eats away that originality which is the cause of mental growth. Training may be at the expense of ingenuity.

Training schools must be; but training schools are not within the purview of education. We need some new word by which to designate this pseudo-school. Unfortunately, college has long been used too honorably to permit without protest its reduction now to mere utilitarianism; seminary by root-meaning has the significance of school, which is seed-sowing, seed-ground, growth, and therefore cannot well be distorted so as to mean training school; and last is academy, with many fine associations, but without philologic content. I fear that it must be "riding academy," "teaching academy," "barber's academy," "military academy," "business academy," when, if ever, we are logical.

The school must never be confused with the university, though it must always blend with it. The college is half school, half university; and like many half-breeds, is perhaps the better for its mixed sources. The university is for culture. In the school, knowledge is imparted for the sake of the pupil; but in the university, that the knowledge may be preserved in the world. The university is the shadow of the ancient temple thrown athwart the centuries. All sciences or knowledges, all arts or skills, useful for the heritage or endowment of man, are welcome to its sheltering care.[1]

In the ancient Egyptian world, the temple was at once a home of the priests, a church of the people, a palace of

[1] The peculiar function of the university in a democracy is to "purify, refine, ennoble, and enrich the resultant of all the past and then to pass it over to the future." Thwing, *History of Higher Education in America*, p. 447.

government, a treasury of wealth, a court of law, a school of learning, a museum of art, a hospital of healing, an exchange for goods, and a mausoleum of death. We call the scholars who controlled the temples priests; but they were far more than preachers and pastors.[1] They were also landowners, traders, rulers, jurists, bankers, teachers, scientists, artists, architects, physicians, and embalmers. They owned the nation, the land, and the bodies and souls of the people.[2] The temple survives to-day in the university. Though without visible and substantial authority, the modern temple of learning, of skill, and of wisdom is not less powerful than the ancient.

The university, therefore, is the nursery of all the professions and of all the arts. It is not indifferent to educational values, but regards education as of incidental and minor importance compared with the necessity, from its point of view, of maintaining culture in mankind, and with the desirability of increasing by research the sum of human knowledge, and by teaching and by practice the range and the quality of human skill. The university has for its foci the library and the laboratory. Its various schools are training schools in practice and in substance, but not in spirit and in atmosphere; for though their purpose is to develop their students in the knowledge of their science and in the technique of their art, — the characteristic and typical purpose of all training schools, — this purpose is subordinate to the true university purpose, which is to maintain science and art in the world.

Unfortunate as is our inability to discriminate by single title between the school, the training school, and the university professional school, and unfortunate as is our confusion of notions regarding school, seminary, academy, and college, we are even more unfortunate in our inability to discriminate clearly by single title between

[1] Lippert, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Priesterthums*.

[2] Maspero, *Egypt* (transl. by Sayce), vol. i, chap. iii; vol. ii, chap. i.

pedagogue, teacher, instructor, educator, professor, investigator, and in our confusion of notions regarding them. The term pedagogue is as entirely useless as psychogogue would be. Teacher might properly survive as the generic term to include all who impart knowledge or train in skill, whether kindergartners or college presidents. Educator should designate those whose object is development of their pupils in force, in skill, and in self-control. Professor should designate those whose object is inculcation of knowledge. Instructor should designate the intermediate class of teachers whose objects are equally knowledge and skill. But such discriminations would be entirely unacceptable at present. The heads of colleges and of universities are seeking to take to themselves the titles "educators" and "educationists," terms, of course, as dissimilar in content as artist and scientist. The educator is the accomplished teacher of boys and girls, while the educationist is the student and expositor of the science or history or philosophy or practice of education.

Not until our notions are clear upon these matters, irrespective of popular and even professional usage, are we ready to proceed in our inquiry into the nature of education. Though the life of man lies really not in what is, but in what ought to be, the education that exists, the actual school, is often mistaken for true education. It is, of course, a fact that the State, the Church, the Family, and every other social institution similarly suffers. The real State, for example, is but a torso of the State that ought to be; and to know this is not necessarily to foresee socialism or any other "ism" incarnated in the State. It is merely an evidence of intelligent sanity to understand that whatever is ought to be better in time to come. But the School suffers from the dullness of men in ways that seem to be exceptionally, extraordinarily unfortunate. This may be an illusion of nearness and of

intimacy and of interest; but it seems to require consideration.

Wherever the School exists, it is a subordinate and a dependent social institution, in this respect contrasting, in America, absolutely with Property, Family, State, Church, Culture, and business. This subordination and this dependence exist not merely in respect to material support, the means of existence, the absence of right to tax and to own;[1] but exist also in respect to function by reason of limitations, most of which are illogical, unscientific, unrighteous, and injurious. The School is always subordinate to the institution upon which it is wholly or mainly dependent. Its morality, therefore, tends to be that of the slave.

The reasons why this has not been more frequently observed are two: first, most men are enslaved, unfree, traditional, subservient;[2] and therefore they fail to note a characteristic like their own; and, second, the morality of servitors is entirely acceptable to rulers, and is, therefore, not reprehended. To the masses, the School, whatever it be, is in spirit like themselves: to the classes, it is agreeable because lacking resistance.

A proposition so radical may warrant some consideration. Superior men are born to rule. They may be born in the class of rulers or in the class of the ruled: it matters not: they rule by virtue of qualities, exactly as inferior men serve by virtue of qualities. The qualities of the ruler are his morals; the qualities of the servant are his morals: but the morals are diametrically opposite.[3] Because he is ruler, the

[1] The right in some states of a board of laymen, controlling education, to tax, is not a right of the School, but a direct denial of that right. In a certain respect, the appearance in America about the middle of the nineteenth century of boards of education, consisting of laymen, authorized to conduct schools, was a gain, for it showed and promoted the interest and enthusiasm of general society in the progress of education.

[2] Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*.

[3] Nietzsche was not the first to see this, but he emphasized it and expanded it into a system. See *Genealogy of Morals*, essay iii.

one ought to be independent, self-reliant, dictatorial, strict, frank, exacting, masterful, that the work of the world may be done efficiently; because the other is servant, he ought to be dependent, humble, obedient, silent, servile, resentful, that the work of the world may be done agreeably. Give the master his way too freely, and the workers would perish from overwork and underfeeding in peace and from wanton sacrifice in war; give the servant his way, and the world, with its wealth and its people, would be wasted by indolence and ignorance in peace and by malice in war. To the master, the masterful seem good and the servile bad; to the servant, the servile seem good and the masterful evil; to the philosopher, who knows only the good and the harmful, the morals of each seem one-sided and biased. To the ruling class, honor is the chief virtue; to the serving class, honesty. A lord will pay his gambling debt, but cheat a tradesman; a mechanic will pay his grocer, but, in distress, desert wife and children. A gentleman tells the truth; a servant keeps the peace. In America, there are many in the middle class, sharing more or less in the virtues and, sad to say, in the vices of both rulers and servants. Philosophers, believers in the whole life, desire only the virtues of that life, which are few and clear, — singleness of heart, zeal to know the truth, consideration for others, faith in the constitution of the world of God. But these virtues are rational, and therefore remote from many.

A particular feature of the problem of Negro education, so called,[1] is the attempt to reduce them all to the servant class with the servile morality, while, in fact, in the city populations of the Negroes, the mulattoes, so called, who are really *mestizos*, prevail, and in the country populations the true Negroes, the pure blacks, who are often descended from the stocks of African rulers. Now the *mestizos* are but brothers and cousins in saffron of the men and women in white. Formal education, forgetting the "color line within the color

[1] There can be no "Negro education" or Hebrew education or American education any more than there can be Negro or Hebrew or American truth. Education is whole, colorless, ageless, universal.

line" and the natural classes of all mankind, too generally attempts to impose upon these mixed races habits of thought and action suitable to the serving class only. The truth is that the Negro desires and needs the resources of the entire encyclopædia of education in matter and in method.

In this subordination and dependence, the School is forced to assume a position and a character entirely contrary to its real nature. When education looks to government or to religion or to the arts for its ideals, its goal, it contradicts itself. Jesus said, "Except ye become as little children, ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven."[1] This is a principle, not a particular statement of temporary meaning. For its goal, education must look into the pure soul of man, such a soul as that of the little child. The truth will be found not in the social institutions, not in the veteran souls, seasoned by experience, immune by infections resisted or endured, but in the young souls stepping forth out of the skies into the world of men and things. To look in the manner of the child without prejudice upon things as they seem really to be is more nearly to find them as they are than falls to the lot of the adult man. The goal of education is truth, delight in truth, understanding of truth, faith in truth. This truth is no matter of prescription, no truth that needs bulwarking by laws, by exhortations, by ridicule and sneer, by threats, by institutions, by force of any kind whatsoever save its own self, its very nature.

> "Truth only needs to be for once spoke out,
> And there 's such music in her, such strange rhythm,
> As makes men's memories her joyous slaves,
> And clings around the soul, as the sky clings
> Round the mute earth, forever beautiful."[2]

All modern science is but systematizing, persisting

[1] If ye do not turn about and become as the children, ye will never (οὐ μή) enter into the kingdom of the skies. Matthew xviii, 3.

[2] Lowell, *A Glance behind the Curtain.*

in, trusting such simple interrogations as are universally characteristic of the child. The very affirmations of the child have the validity and universality of the highest philosophy. And why not? Whence save from revelation can come new truth? And what is a child but a new, a last revelation?

A little child, not yet three years old, was swinging two-pound dumbbells. Her father asked her whether they did not tire her. Proudly arching her chest, she replied, "Dod did make me tong (God did make me strong)." To test her, the next day her mother asked her the same question under the same circumstances with the same reply. This occurred in a family by no means given to religious ceremonies or discussions. Such certainty was beyond that of Kant. God and the goodness of God to man and the gratitude or love due from man to God are as much "intuitions" as are time and space. Whether they be intuitions or ideas slowly accreted through ages is a matter of indifference. The Power, the Father, God, may teach truth to man in an instant or through ages: certainty of this is a condition of sanity, of intelligence, of humanness, and any uncertainty is devolution of mind, insanity, animalism.[1]

Since pure truth, unprejudiced, simple, such as is the natural aspiration of the child, is the goal of education, what is the utility of speculations or of inquiries regarding history, science, social institutions? Why consider the adult at all? Why not turn society upside down; and why not let the adults be organized in classes under the instruction of children? What a ridiculous suggestion! Perhaps so. But let us consider for a moment some of the evils that would instantly be condemned, were young children lords of the world. Consider palaces, prisons, slums, murders, treasons, plots, lies of intent, double dealing, avarice. The adult mind, strong as it is, shrinks from the task: reason staggers and desists.

[1] Pratt, *Psychology of Religious Belief.*

But continue. Whom would the child select as ruler of all? Him or her let us make ruler in imagination. The fond mother, indubitably. And let us forecast the result. What a miracle of cleansing would be accomplished! Would crimes be punished as now? Would money be idol and magic as now?

Read literature. Read political philosophy. Read sociology. Far less profitable suggestions have been made by very serious men than the suggestion of Jesus that we turn about and become as children. Mayhap, God spoke in that word. Mayhap, it is the method to make love rather than power or property the alembic of life, — of personal, of national, of world life.

At any rate, whatsoever be the cost, I will not deny it: I will not explain it away: I will accept and use it. I, the adult, the father, the mother, am part and parcel of humanity, bridging from child to child as certainly, as humbly, as simply as once I, the child, bridged from adult to adult. Nor do I, grown out of the child, clearly know what part of me is child, what part adult. The child is, indeed, the father of the man; but he is more, he is the essence of him, if he be really man. For the very qualities that we call "manly" are childlike, — sincerity, aspiration, love of truth, fair play, openness, loyalty. All heroes, all saints, preserved sacred the child in themselves. Uncalculating self-sacrifice, single-hearted goodness; the child is incapable of intending anything else.

And yet, and yet! Life is not for naught. Higher may the man rise than the child; as certainly as that often, I fear usually, he sinks lower. He rises by being obedient to the heavenly visions of the child and by observing certain of the habits and tastes of the child. The versatility, the many-faceted activity, the sleep, the appetite, the very dislikes of the child, — do they not persevere in the man of genius? And yet knowledge

comes. To be good, it is necessary to be good for something; and what shall that something be? The child cannot know.

The career of many a man illustrates the principle. It was the aim of Demosthenes to become "a good speaker." When he became that, God sent him something to say. Many a poet has first learned the art of poesy; after he had learned his art, he received his message.[1]

That the message comes undeniably as revelation, unsuggested, unhistorical, may be sometimes an illusion; but often it is really what it seems. Otherwise, by human knowledge, it becomes impossible to understand certain persons, some famous, some one's familiar neighbors.[2]

The School belongs to the child for the sake of the race. It belongs to the childlike, of whatever age, for the sake of the progress of the race in culture, in wealth, in worth. The School, therefore, belongs to the truth; and the truth for the School is the kind that needs no apologists or defenders, no protectors or advocates. While it is perfectly true that the School prepares for "life," and equally true that "life" (the world) contains Church, State, Business, nevertheless it is not the purpose of the School to prepare for the State or for the Church or for Business. Perhaps these institutions are needless or even wrong. It is quite possible that God reveals morality to the child, and that the sin of the adult alone occasions the need of religion;[3] in which aspect the religious attitude is inferior to the moral intention. It is quite possible that business is a transitory degradation of the industrial arts. It is quite possible that government as such, as the rule of the bad and of

[1] For a curious confirmation of this in ordinary political life, see Steffens (in *McClure's Magazine*, February, 1906), "The Gentleman from Essex."

[2] Cf. Clemens (Mark Twain), *Joan of Arc.*

[3] Fichte, *Critique of Religion.*

the weak by the good and the strong, is necessary solely because education has not yet accomplished its perfect work.[1]

But perhaps the statement that the School is wholly subordinate and dependent is challenged.

Property, the oldest of all the social institutions, has nearly succeeded in shuffling off all responsibility for the School. Here and there a property school, living by endowments, independent of fees, controlled absolutely by educators (with no business men as trustees and, therefore, rulers), may survive. I know of few such schools in the western world of Europe and America, and none of any importance.

The Family still maintains its "select" schools, mostly for girls. These are sometimes schools for small children, or "finishing schools" for girls. The object of the former kind of school is to relieve mothers of home care. The object of the latter kind is to furnish girls with "accomplishments," by means of which to win desirable husbands and to make attractive homes. In these latter years a peculiar kind of school of accomplishments has appeared, — the school for training in domestic science and art. A more familiar kind is the "boarding school" for boys or for girls. Such schools are the results of parental interest, and are to be credited to the ancient tradition that parents must either teach their children themselves or provide teachers for them.

The management of these "private schools," as we Americans call them, whether endowed or not, is always in the interest of the "patrons" representing the Family. A school is "unsuccessful," and its principal "does not know the business," when, as very often happens, he does not make the school attractive to son or daughter and to father or mother. The family or private school, as a

[1] Such appears to be part of the meaning of Jefferson and others: "The least government is the best government."

type, persists to this day. Most examples of the type are but short-lived. Occasionally, some academy with a relatively large endowment lasts for generations. The private school by its selectness appeals to the economic class whose members are dependent upon the workers for support, and to the class whose members have attained culture superior in form and in grace to that of the workers. The private school discriminates financially against the independent masses. Even when conscientiously and honorably "run," not for profit but as an educational enterprise, it must always, by necessity of character, aim to please parents as a class, though perhaps not as individuals. By common report, it must be pro-Family. The Family School, therefore, is typically subordinate to parents, and, unless endowed, is wholly dependent upon them.[1] Some of its endowments may be derived from pleased parents.

The Church is third in age as a social institution, and it holds many a school in its grasp. Indeed, in one of its forms, it holds an entire system of schools in its grasp. Moreover, of recent years, another form has undertaken to establish a similar system of schools. And the Church now maintains, as it has maintained for fifty centuries and more, training schools, "theological seminaries," "schools for monks," "temples," affording preparation for the priesthood, ministry, and ceremonial service.

This magnificent, world-wide, age-old system of the Church is far more philosophical, sociological, scientific, than appears. It conforms admirably with the laws of classes, variants, and masses of population. By this system, there is training for clergy and for laity upon different lines. But for the celibacy of one great priesthood, — a celibacy that, of course, wipes out the class in every generation, — the system would almost certainly have

[1] Cf. Adams, *Some Famous American Schools*, Introduction.

transformed the world. And yet, though absolutely preventing the scholarly class from becoming an hereditary caste, and wholly relying for that class upon the variants from the masses, the Roman Catholic Church has won and maintained a primacy in many nations and a power throughout all Christendom that can be accounted for only by the efficiency and by the completeness of its educational system.[1]

But this educational system is a mere part of the entire Catholic ecclesiastical system; and every day's work in every Catholic school, whether local primary or international graduate, is directed to one end, — the maintenance of Catholic Christianity. Schooling of such kind we may call education. Without doubt, it is education, for no boy could go through all its grades of school and college without enlargement of powers. Ten thousand, many million, bear witness that Catholic schooling is more than training and inculcating, for it is, in large measure, developing. And yet, once more, it is the achievement of a school wholly subordinate to and dependent upon a church. Appointments, compensation of teachers, fees of pupils (if any), rules, courses of study, text-books used, are all determined not by free educators, but by priests. Or rather the bishop, the priest, is not wholly churchman, but is in part schoolman. In the Catholic world, the school has not yet completed its differentiation within the Church by separating from it and integrating itself outside of the Church.

The persistence of the Catholic school has at least suggested, if not really stimulated, in America the establishment of various schools under the protection and often the patronage of other churches. The power of these ecclesiastical parochial and boarding schools is limited only by their contributing population and by their

[1] O'Gorman, *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the U. S.*, pp. 445, 489; Carroll, *Religious Forces of the U. S.*, p. lxvi.

property. It is poverty, not policy, that prevents the religious school from being a vast influence in America. It is a chief agency of particular clergies for religious inculcation and propaganda.[1] Education is subordinate, incidental, apparently accidental.

Now comes Culture, with its splendid schools,—the university, the college, and the institute. In these schools, as compared with the schools of the Family and of the Church, the educators are free, yet not wholly so. For over the faculty is the board of trustees, holding the property, the purse, and the policy of the institution. This board of trustees is very, very seldom controlled by educators. It is usually composed of business men (merchants, manufacturers, publishers, bankers), lawyers, ministers, politicians, leisure-class men, capitalists. Sometimes one who is only an author, a professor, an architect, a journalist, an engineer, an educator, or a scientist, breaks into the circle, but never with any support; and never an artist, a mechanic, or a musician is enrolled among them. Nevertheless, when no particular class or type is in full control, and when no particular patron, donor, or philanthropist determines the policy, such a board of trustees serves very well, being a microcosm of the world of men. Over the heterogeneous board, the educator-president, if he be not cleric disguised as culturist,[2] or the professors of the faculty often have considerable influence. But a homogeneous board, harmonious, with an established policy, especially when its members have any leisure, is likely to invade the domain

[1] "Church schools for girls are a chief instrument of gaining and extending church influence." Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. of America*, p. 507.

[2] Educators do well to consider carefully the policy of making the president of the college or university faculty also president of the board of trustees. Upon the personality and purpose of such a president depends the question whether by this twofold office, the faculty controls the trustees or the trustees control the faculty.

of the faculty and to alter opinions, even to enforce them, in matters alike of substance and of detail.

It is in appearance only that educators control the higher institutions of learning. Indeed, as a matter of sociology, perhaps also of psychology, it is not desirable that at present they should control them.[1] That control properly belongs, however, not to Property and Business, as it too often does now, but to Culture, and that not to Culture narrowly limited to philosophy, literature, history, and science, but as including every knowledge and skill of any value to men.[2] Freedom comes in the conflicts of men and of ideas.

What? Should college professors help make investments, expend money for buildings and maintenance, fix and pay salaries, decide courses of study? Of course, they should. How else can they be men in a world of men? How else can they be fitted themselves to fit youth to enter the world of men? The Roman Catholic Church has survived professional control of finances, which is the essence of control, nearly two thousand years. Let us have complete integration, — Business for business men, Education for educators, Culture for men of culture, Cobbling for cobblers.

But the running of a university is purely a business matter! It should not be. A lot of scholastic, absent-minded, dreamy professors would soon waste the funds! Who cares most to preserve the funds? Those who live by them, or those who are merely set to watch them? The pros and cons run on. The tendency is clear, that Culture will yet come into its own, which is independence

[1] Cf. West, "The 'Faculty' in American Universities," *Educational Review*, June, 1906.

[2] I raise the question whether the trustees should not have absolute financial control and be all of them men of the highest culture. To secure such a board, alumni election of trustees with charter provision as to the eligibility of candidates seems to be progress in the right direction. Cf. White, *Autobiography*, vol. i, pp. 342, 431.

of everything that is not-culture. The fact is clear, however, that Culture is still in leading strings. Not less true is this of the public or State universities. Whatever be the mode by which the democracy enforces control over these institutions, it is still control of Culture by the will of non-cultural society.[1]

The failure of Property, of Family, of Religion, and of Culture to provide universal education forced the constitutional State, for its own preservation, to take the School under its protection. By no means clearly understanding the nature or the extent or the meaning of the enterprise, democratic government in America undertook general education in order to prevent illiteracy, inefficiency, and immorality from ruining the society in its control. The modern State is universal: every child is born into it. The State, therefore, upon adopting the School, decreed that it also should be universal: every child must accept its privileges.[2]

This modern State is historically a peculiar organization. No other universal institution, such as the Church once was everywhere in Western Europe, ever submitted to the control of the many, — that is, of the masses. Only a few Protestant churches, of course, none of them universal, are democratic. The American State is apparently all society organized for government. The reality is that it is a transient majority of adult males organized for government, and usually so organized by masterful natural or hereditary aristocrats in their own interest.[3]

With an amazing rapidity that displayed the free energy of an age of legislatures, frequently in session, of newspapers, of telegraph, telephone, typewriter, steam

[1] For a discussion of the effect of the famous Dartmouth College case, in which the State was denied control over an educational corporation, see Brown, *Making of our Middle Schools*, pp. 289–291.

[2] Davidson, *History of Education*, p. 265.

[3] Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, chapter lxxiv; Wilson, *The State*, chapter xiii.

and electric railroads, conveying men and ideas almost fluidly about the country, the American State created the American free public school.[1] Like a parasite at the banquet of a Roman Senator, public education waits eagerly upon every act and upon every word of the American government. We may talk of "more money for the public schools," and we may gradually get more and more money; but all the while the relation is essentially false. Substantively, education is a form, a mode of religion; but it is in no proper sense a form or a mode of government. Better the dependence of the School upon the Church than upon the State. This is a transition era; and submerged in it, we are likely to mistake a tide for an ocean current. Education as a formal, universal system will never return to the Family or to the Church; and it will soon go free from the State.

But what are the symptoms of this subordination and this dependence? What are the indications of finally "reaching majority" and going free? And what are some of the disagreeable complications in the State-School disease? We hear much in history of the State-Church. What of this State-School? What revolution is contained in the present; and when the wheel of society revolves, will it revolve forward?

The enormous majority of children and youth who are subject to the State-School certainly warrants special consideration of these questions.

Wherever the public school of the State exists, there it is absolutely controlled and in every respect directed by a political board of education.[2] The superintendent, if any there be, is chosen by that board. Courses of study, text-books, rules and regulations, generally appointments,

[1] For the characteristics of this school, see Chancellor, *Our Schools: Their Administration and Supervision*, chapter viii.

[2] Political, in distinction from cultural, ecclesiastical, and economic. We must redeem this noble word from its sinister connotations.

transfers, discharges, and always salaries of teachers are determined by the board, or by some still higher legislative body acting as the will of the democracy. Who constitute the board? Educators never. Here and there some educator, retired or employed elsewhere but resident in the municipality, may be a member of the board; but the control is always in the political members. Indeed, the educator must be a political favorite in order to secure membership.

So universal is the non-professional character of the board of education that the employed educators, as the product of their conditions, rejoice in serving men "who know nothing about education." It matters not whether the members of the board be chosen by election at large or by wards, or by appointment of mayor or judge: professional interest and equipment are practically a bar to office. Once upon the board, the member becomes infected with the tradition of all boards, that "Educators know nothing about money affairs." Immediately a double relation is established. The board members arrogate to themselves not only legal control and final authority, but also omniscience in every financial matter, while out of mere self-respect the educators sullenly retreat to their fortified schools and become a conspiracy against the board and against the superintendent, if he is "loyal" to his employers. Moreover, the board becomes characterized by all the traits of the master class and the teaching force by all those of the servants, so that the public is disturbed beyond measure. Imagining that the teachers are what they purport to be, profess to be, and by the board itself are advertised to be, — that is, responsible for the education in the schools, — parents and citizens require or try to require them to produce results wholly beyond their opportunities and resources.[1]

[1] Chancellor, *Our Schools*, p. 117.

The end is not yet. Enough generations of school-children have not yet come into the society of men, the society national and international, for anything like final testing. Too many of the failures of the public schools are regenerated by the colleges, or tinkered into shape by parents, employers, special schools, for the real truth to be positively known by even the enlightened general public. Despite every handicap, some public schools are really educational agencies; and their product is genuinely educated. But the fallacy of the system nevertheless remains; it is undeniable, and it is undenied by the truthful. Where State legislatures by laws for the public schools, or where boards of education by resolutions or tacit custom, delegate large powers to educators, there little harm results from the present transitional system; but such discriminating legislators and such self-renouncing boards are few.

Read the statutes of any State, read the rules and regulations of any municipality; and the truth of the authority of the board as over against the school becomes at once apparent. And do not deny the truth of this statement before reading these laws and regulations.

The influence of the vested legal powers of the board of education upon members is very instructive. In a certain city, a young man under twenty-six years of age, two of whose sisters were teachers in the local schools, came upon the board of education, pledged to certain reforms and vowing to support the teachers in their rights. He was confronted at the second meeting by a petition from the teachers, requesting that personal matters of incompetence and of unsatisfactory service be discussed only in executive session and in the hearing of the accused. His remark, "It makes my blood boil to hear the insolence of these employees," told the story. He added, "Human nature is human nature; and I for one am going to use the power granted by the laws. Let them look out."

The subordination of the School is shown in the

finances. Almost everywhere, teachers are paid less than policemen and firemen. Almost everywhere, the school department is the last to receive funds. Almost everywhere, the tendency is to employ more and more women and fewer men so as to save money and to secure employees who will not "interfere in politics." In the vast recent prosperity of America, the teachers have no real share. Their wages have not risen as fast as the purchasing power of money has decreased. Schoolhouses do not improve generally in allowance of space per child and in amount of investment per child. Commonly, the tendency is to make the School a mere subsidiary department of the city or town government. Almost everywhere are to be found statutory limitations of the amounts per thousand dollars of taxable property or per child to be spent for educational purposes, though such limitations are set upon nothing else: as though we were in peril of being too well educated.[1]

Who are the persons chosen for board membership? Characteristically, young men, lawyers or physicians desirous of advertising, or of "getting a start in politics," business men of minor importance, puppets of the "unseen powers" that rule our municipalities. The responsible, successful men are few. Many superintendents feel that they can resist more effectively the clerk than the millionaire, and go so far as to advocate the policy of appointing or electing inferior men.

Though the end is not yet, there are signs of change. Board membership is being lengthened in term, in the hope that long service will develop wisdom and prove to be a kind of education for educational control. Boards are being given, here and there, separate taxing powers in independence of city councils.[2] Their ancient right of

[1] The proposed Constitution of the State of Oklahoma is only the latest striking example of the public distrust of education as worth all it costs.

[2] Cf. Colorado and New Jersey.

holding buildings and lands in fee is in process of restoration. Elections are held for board membership upon nominations by petition and on days other than those set apart for the partisan political elections.[1] In a few instances, salaries are paid for services. In not a few instances, boards are employing business managers and school architects, thus acknowledging ignorance of educational construction. They are delegating many of their powers, such as choosing teachers and books, to professional men. All these measures are remedies for a disease; but they do not prevent the disease. The State-School is merely a transitory type.

We have, therefore, the school that prepares girls for society and for marriage; the school that teaches the masses to worship and the variants to conduct worship; the school that inculcates certain kinds of knowledge; and the school that is supposed to prepare for citizenship. This last, much lauded, common school of compulsory education has adopted the principle of Jesuit Catholic instruction, — Give us the child till twelve; we can determine him for life by that time.[2] To the State-School, all the meaning of adolescence is lost. Whereas, in fact, for boys the most important year for education is fourteen and for girls thirteen, the State-School allows its education to end there for the great majority.[3]

Business and Culture both discovered the lack. Culture devised the old academy and the new high school for the supernormal variants from the masses. Business devised the commercial school or college. Its cry is "Education for practical life," meaning the life of the clerk or salesman or bookkeeper. Over the business

[1] Notably in the State of Colorado and in the city of St. Louis.

[2] See the statutes of every State enforcing compulsory education. A table is given in Dexter, *History of Education in the U. S.*, Appendix I. See also Hughes, *The Making of Citizens*, pp. 134–136.

[3] Only 1 in 17 of persons in school and college in America in 1904 was over fourteen years of age.

school, Business presides mercilessly, and dictates pure training for the prescribed ends. Business is now reaching out to dictate courses and methods to the State high schools. It develops strong arguments for secondary (early adolescent age) schools of commerce. Its theory is not "man for the State," not "man for the Church," but "man for Business." Thus, a department of Society arrogates to itself more than Society has ever claimed, — to subordinate the immortal soul to material wealth.

And why not? Why is it not best for the boy or girl to go to school and to acquire there a skill, or better, an art[1] whereby to support his or her physical life? Is not the economic activity the essence of humanity? Must we not first have food, shelter, clothes, work-for-wages? Jesus did not think so;[2] but the Master lived in the first century, in a land halfway around the world from us. His is "hard doctrine." Nevertheless, it seems to be wise as well as righteous, for the masters of business do not come from business schools. It is more important to educate than to train. Besides all this, it appears that Business itself is on trial.[3] The economic régime, that came in but two or three hundred years ago, new-founded upon the factories of the nineteenth century, is on trial.[4] It may be that its prescriptions of rent, interest, taxes, profits, and insurance, which now worry so many students of arithmetic and practitioners of bookkeeping, will be as obsolete two or three hundred years hence as

[1] Plato in the *Gorgias*, § 45, tells us how to distinguish a skill from an art. Art has knowledge of the things that it employs, what they severally are in their nature, and can tell the use of each. To teach a skill is merely to train, but to teach an art is to educate.

[2] "Seek ye first the kingdom [of God] and His righteousness [justice], and all these things shall be added unto you [set at your side]." Matthew vi, 33. "Man shall not live by bread alone." Matthew iv, 4.

[3] Ripley, *Trusts, Pools, and Corporations.*

[4] Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution.*

feudal dues (fines of alienation, worships, reliefs) are now. It is not well to be too serious about typewriting: some day it may be as obsolete as hieroglyphics are now: and as useless.

Only thought lives. Only the soul is worth anxiety.

Upon this analysis, which fails to discover a single system of schools whose sole purpose is the true purpose of education, it becomes obvious why the real school is so far from ideal.

The desiderata of the ideal school are two: —

The independence of a sufficient group of educators from all external control (save, of course, public opinion);

Adequate grounds, buildings, apparatus, salaries, and other means of physical support.

In other terms, freedom from authority, and authority in this freedom.

The social forces that should and will produce a formal system of education competent to perform its obligations are five: —

The police protection of society, for without the school civilization would soon go to wreck;

The desirability of material progress whose benefits may be so widely diffused that incurable moral delinquency shall be the sole cause of poverty;

The neighborliness of humanity, seeking that all persons may be fit for companionship;

The love of children and of youth, which means to help them to realize as much as possible of the good of life; and

The spirit of modern scholarship, which desires all men to share in the heritage of human knowledge and skill.

These forces conspire with the yearning of youth itself to grow, — a yearning that imprisons millions for hours a day in conditions often irksome and sometimes painful, — to bring American society to the independent, properly supported School.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW EDUCATION

(*a*) ITS SCIENTIFIC BASIS. (*b*) ITS PURPOSES

Opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. — MILTON, *Prose Works*, vol. ii, p. 92.

The experimental method, qualitative and quantitative, is adequate to the whole structure of mind. — TITCHENER, *Experimental Psychology, Instructor's Manual*, p. lxvii.

The aim of education is world-building, — the construction of such a world as shall furnish the man with motives to live an enlightened, kindly, helpful, and noble social life of continuous progress. — DAVIDSON, *History of Education*, p. 257.

Every intelligent man guides his life and risks his fortune upon the belief that the order of Nature is constant and that the chain of natural causation is never broken. — HUXLEY, *On Evolution*, p. 2.

FROM ancient Chaldea to modern America, the tale of progress is the tale of adding and separating, of approving and discarding, the tale of change. Progress in education has been a tale of the new becoming the old, and of the old giving place to the new. In a sense, progress is mechanical. We may count its steps, concatenate them, mark the resting-places, measure the speed and the space of each march. But though the mechanism be perfectly clear, the spirit may still be hidden.[1]

No one has yet written the history of the methodology, the practice, the mechanism of education through the centuries, though many have written the history of educational theories with more or less comment upon methods and actual practice. Such a history of educational mechanics would be profitable as affording tests of modern schooling. Nevertheless, the superior interest in theory has its entire justification, for "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."[2]

[1] Structure, process, method, — each is mechanical, inevitably mechanical; but reason, cause, spirit, — each is vital. Cf. Lotze, *Microcosmus*, p. 51.

[2] Paul, 2 *Corinthians* iii, 6.

Every change in mechanism is due to some change in the life that is before or within the mechanism.[1] Things are the products, the forms of thoughts. Laws, processes, plans are thoughts. It cannot be proven by any of the efforts of philosophy or of science that things are not thoughts; and that mechanism itself is not a mode of spirit. All that we know is that things and thoughts are at least not incongruent and exclusive, for if they were, mind could never apprehend matter.[2]

The progress in thought has forced the progress in mechanism. Every change in thought is accompanied by, perhaps inevitably causes, a change in mechanism, — on the principle, it may be, of the "conservation of energy." The movements of population, its growths, its collisions, its combinations and wars; the movements of ideas by the migrations of men and of books and by reports of speech; the movements of wealth by invention, by commerce, by fire and pillage; the movements of thought and of art expressing thought (in a phrase, the mechanical process of society, which, in appearance at least, is progress): these have forced changes in the mechanism of education, which expresses the social spirit. This spirit of society, the time-spirit, has typical purposes in education, which necessarily characterize the school of the time.

The schools of a particular age and country are seldom much better or worse than the generally prevailing culture. And the typical purpose of education is usually the typical purpose of the sovereign power in the society, which, of course, always resides in some ruling class or classes.

The temper of the present age in America is democratic, scientific, practical, mechanical, materialistic.[3] It

[1] Function makes structure. Cf. Morgan, *Habits and Instincts;* Sondeman, *Problems of Biology;* Darwin, *Origin of Species.*

[2] Höffding, *The Problem of Philosophy*, translated by Fisher, introduction by James. Strong, *Why the Mind has a Body, passim.*

[3] Lloyd, "History and Materialism," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1905.

is, therefore, out of harmony with the characteristic temper of historical education, which is aristocratic, unscientific, impractical, religious in a formal sense, and imperfectly organic. There is not antithesis or antagonism, for there are not mere points of common interest, but actual overlappings with resultant common grounds. Education has always been, in no small measure, formal and mechanical, the formalisms and mechanisms interfering, not slightly, with its essentially organic, vital, spiritual nature. The modern American social temper is, therefore, to be considered more out of harmony with true education than with historical education. And yet it may well be that education is to gain greatly from certain qualities of our age: its will to freedom, if not also to equality, of opportunity, its scientific devotion, and its practical character. These will lead, undoubtedly are leading, to far greater diffusion of knowledge, to perfection of the mechanism of education, and to its reality as a force and a life.

The effort of modern education to diffuse knowledge more widely is thoroughly scientific in its results, if not in its methods. The diffusion of knowledge tends to accomplish two ends that may be termed mechanical: to discover the variants among the masses and to equip them for lives of peculiar power and of large service; and to teach to the masses the ways of culture and to orientate them in the world of social right and wrong. This democratization of education is wholly good as well as scientific and practical.

The perfecting of the mechanism of education is also a thoroughly scientific enterprise. The workman is known by his tools, his methods, his skill: these prove his craft not less certainly than do his products. The selected teacher, the free and wide curriculum, the better book, the closer organization, the more complete equipment, the larger and finer building, the careful ventilation and

sanitation, the ample grounds; — all these testify to the art of the educational director. The very system is evidence, though not proof, of a science within its substance and determining its form.

Is, then, education an art or a science? Socrates, as represented by Plato, considered teaching at least an art: and teaching is half of education. Modern philosophy accounts educating an art, but education a science. It is a subtle distinction. Art is an efficient mode or method of action resulting in a product of beauty.[1] And beauty is a quality that whenever present pleases all of us.[2] A science is a body, a whole, of systematized knowledge, composed upon understood principles that correlate clearly known facts; while science is a mode or method of arriving at fact with certainty, that is, of finding truth. Art also has its concrete meaning, for an art is a body, a whole, of products of a particular kind of beauty.

Pottery is an art, often styled ceramics. The making of pottery is an art. The mode and the product of beauty may be considered art. Similarly, the body of chemistry constitutes a science, while chemistry as a mode of investigating Nature is a science. Both art and science may be used in either a kinetic or a static sense.

As a formal system, education is on the way to becoming a science, while as a technical method educating (or to speak more loosely in the common fashion, education) is an applied science on the way to becoming an art. Now the art of education is pedagogy (or pedagogics), which is not the subject of the present inquiry.[3]

[1] To get the full meaning of this word, we must realize its history. Beauty is goodness. (*Beau*, *bonus*, *bellus*.) A thing of beauty is good for us. This explains the apparent contradiction in the beautiful work of art that produces in us grief or fear or hate; it is beautiful provided that in the circumstances grief or fear or hate is good for us or in us.

[2] Kant, *Critique of Judgment*.

[3] This subject is the science of education, or, to express the matter

The artist-educator may be said to teach well; the scientist-educator, to teach wisely. In the one case, we emphasize the good result or the prospect of it; in the other, the method and the intelligence shown in the processes employed by the method.

The science of education must be based upon other sciences, such as psychology, particularly the psychology of the feelings; genetic psychology; biogenetic psychology; physiology and physiological psychology; anthropology; pathology; biology; sociology; criminology, far better to be styled sinology;[1] and political economy.

The essence of the whole matter is biology, the science of life, which reveals the origins of the animal body and of its various structures and functions. Thereby, man is interpreted to himself as a form of Nature, a form literally akin to that of every other living creature. He who is not something of a biologist can never again be anything of a philosopher.[2] Who can measure how much his primitive biology helped to make Aristotle "The Philosopher," holding primacy for a thousand years?[3]

The whole matter of education, again, is ensphered in sociology, which accounts for the humanness of the mind of modern man. By becoming a *socius*, the *homo* becomes a *vir*. Out of the individual, companionship makes the person. Not for the sake of society, but for the sake of the boy and the girl, are they prepared for society.

Yet the centre and the envelope do not complete the sphere, which finds its substance in psychology, the science of the soul. This science, for man the most

more fully, the motives and other forces that tend to the making of such a science, together with the materials that are being accumulated for the use of the science.

[1] Schmidt, *Ethik der Alten Griechen*.

[2] This was settled by Darwin, and has been expounded by Huxley, Spencer, Tyndall, Wallace, Fiske, De Vries, Drummond, and a hundred others.

[3] Turner, *History of Philosophy*, p. 224 *et passim*.

significant of all sciences, has many fields of inquiry. The science of human nature must sound and map the innermost deeps as well as measure the surfaces and edges. It must begin, therefore, with motives.[1]

Every motive has a reason [2] because of which it exists; the persistence of the reason in unconsciousness produces its evolution into motive and characterizes it as such. The cause of this persistence is an appreciative condition of that unconsciousness, — its apperceptive appropriateness, we may perhaps say, by analogy with the processes of consciousness. The reason within the motive is always an ideal. Every motive has also always a judgment regarding the ideal; this judgment is its valuation of the ideal; and the integrity of the motive is always conditioned by this judgment. The force of the motive is conditioned by its adjustment to the general nature of the personal soul and by the force of that soul. Motive is in the depths of the man; no man ever has a motive false to his real self, though it may be false to the self that he hopes to build.[3]

While every motive has an ideal within itself and a value for its ideal, not every ideal has a judgment of value as yet attached, and not every value awakens motive. Ideals are upon the periphery of unconsciousness, motive is at its centre, value relates centre to circumference; and the whole constitutes the entire circle of unconsciousness. It may seem, at first, a contradiction in

[1] "The substitution of the will as the world-principle instead of the reason has been of distinct service to us in the interpretation of experience." Caldwell, *Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance*, p. 8.

[2] Reason is unconscious; its result, a judgment, is conscious; its statement, an argument, is self-conscious.

[3] Sensation is the gateway of the psychophysical parallel: by it, the external world beyond the periphery of the body invades the soul. Motive is another gateway: by it, the external world within the periphery of the body invades the soul, — in short, bodily energy becomes or awakes psychic activity.

terms to assert a psychology of unconsciousness; yet we may know it by its manifested acts.

Values give quality and substance (that is, power) to ideals, by transmitting to them the power of motive. A value, in this sense, is a judgment of the intellect, working below the plane of consciousness; an ideal is an aspiration of the heart; a motive is a direction of the will. The value of an ideal is realized by the motive, which must be sufficient and appropriate.

Ideals lend dignity to motives, the dignity of value. Without value, there is not motive, but pure impulse. In the senses of this relation, an ideal is a conception of the intellect, a motive is a feeling of the heart; and a value is a projection of the will. The ideal in a motive is embodied in the value, which must be sufficient and worthy.

Motives produce energy in values, the pure energy of ideals. In this relation, a motive is a causation of the intellect; a value is an affection of the heart; and an ideal is a prevision of the will.[1]

As the imagination, the memory, the judgment, and reason itself, are no longer to be considered separate faculties of the mind, but facilities, functionings, modes of operation involving the whole mind, so intellection, volition, and emotion — consciousness, subconsciousness, and unconsciousness — are also to be considered as modes of operation involving the whole mind. The old

[1] Students of historical philosophy will recognize the first group of theses as derived from Kant, the second from Plato, and the third from Schopenhauer. Similarly, we may characterize the three departments of government: (1) legislative as intellectual, executive as moral, and judicial as emotional; (2) legislative as moral, executive as emotional, and judicial as intellectual; (3) legislative as emotional, executive as intellectual, and judicial as moral. The first is the doctrine of pure monarchy; the second that of pure aristocracy; and the third that of pure democracy. Actual government tries to coalesce and to average all of these. Hart, *Actual Government*, chapter iii, § 18.

psychology of intellect, will, and heart was true, for all science is by definition truth; but it comprehended only a few features, and those chiefly mechanical, of the truth at present known of the mind of man.[1]

As we need a psychology of habit as well as of mental acts; as we need a psychology of subconsciousness as well as of consciousness; and as we need a psychology of emotion and of volition as well as of intellection; so also do we need a psychology of production and of creation as well as of reception and of repetition. Our modern psychology is but the nucleus of the psychology that will be when we complete the sphere of our inquiry. The essence of the matter, of the entire matter as well as of this apparently paradoxical phase of ideals, values, and motives, is mental functioning whose second power as seen in culture[2] is always productive, creative, and serviceable.

When one knows something new, there are three kinds of uses to which one's mind puts the new knowledge. One use is to hold it in memory, consciously or unconsciously, as reserve knowledge, which functions in its simplest mode when reproduced in kind.[3] A musician learns a nocturne: he plays it accurately. A second use is to hold the knowledge in memory, not as such, but in composition with other similar knowledge. The new knowledge functions in a more complex manner when the knower delivers it changed in form and perhaps in substance, but true to its own essential nature. A musician learns many selections; he plays an original composition

[1] Royce, *Outlines of Psychology*, Preface, p. viii.

[2] Pseudo-culture may always be distinguished from the genuine in that it is always critical, censorious, self-conscious, and never constructive.

[3] There enters here the question as to the value in education of mere repetition after the recollection is perfectly established. The new thought or activity is already established and has effected its result: the repetition makes the net of routine. But repetition with new elements added widens the highroad of recollection, and may even solidify the roadbeds.

with echoes and overtones and the spirit of the original music. A third use is to acquire the knowledge, but to absorb it, making it part and parcel of one's own mental life. The new knowledge functions in a manner that does not permit of its representation as it was. A musician learns the science and art of music; and becomes a poet or an orator or a physician, employing only the power that the music gave his intellect, his will, his soul. The knowledge functions simply and plainly; or complexly and obscurely; or occultly and vitally. The knower may learn or think or create because of what he knows. In the last case, his knowledge functions as education, as education pure, simple, and perfect.[1]

The Intellect	*The Feelings*	*The Will*
Sensation { Peripheral / Central	Pain	Instinct
Attention	Pleasure	Tropism
Perception	Emotion	Initiative
Colligation	Passion	Imitation
Appreciation	Love	Opposition
Idea	Fear	Impulse
Cognition	Hate	Conation
Conception	Appreciation	Motive
Recognition	Like	Purpose
Recollection	Dislike	Habit
Memory	Affection	Courage
Notion	Disaffection	Fortitude
Assimilation	Sensitiveness	Patience
Differentiation	Etc.	Persistence
Judgment		Recurrence
Understanding		Etc.
Imagination		
Fancy		
Reason		
Thought		
Docility		
Etc.		

[1] This opinion should be discriminated from the opinion that a judgment trained for one class or character of facts is valid for all other classes or for any other class. This latter opinion has been successfully controverted. Bagley, *The Educative Process*, chapter xiii.

These terms are not proposed as mutually exclusive or as in systematic order; as complete or as necessary to completeness; or finally as purely scientific; but they are proposed as obviously convincing evidence that psychology is the substance of the science of education.

But pure or theoretical psychology is by no means all of the subject. Almost as important is physiological psychology, which deals with the nervous system as the instrument of the mind. Closely allied with this is physiology itself, with the associated sciences of anatomy and of pathology. Subsumed under them all are genetic psychology and biogenetic or biological psychology. So vast is the range of these sciences, so incredibly vast their present content, and so exhausting to the imagination their possible inquiries, that I hesitate to make any suggestions as to their meaning and as to their truth for education.[1] And yet because this hesitation may be misunderstood or resented, I note a few topics.

The physical and the psychical determinants of the limen of consciousness.

The rate of physico-psychical action.

The content of consciousness.

Psychophysical parallelism.

Motor and sensory diatheses.

Nascent periods when interests first appear in the soul.

The history of the animal soul.

The animal body, from fish *via* true animal to man.

[1] The results of education may be stated in the terms of physiological psychology.

1. The psychophysical rate is increased: the educated man thinks faster than before.

2. The field of consciousness at each instant is enlarged: he judges by means of more facts.

3. Attention is more positively central: he "sees" more clearly.

4. Recollection is heightened and deepened in tone; and desire enforces prompter and surer recall: he remembers better.

5. The peripheral or penumbral subconsciousness is within partial control: he thinks, in a measure, of what he chooses to think.

Defects of the special senses: vision and muscular accommodation of eye; deafness; etc.
Spinal curvature.
Psychoses.
Neuroses.
Normal and abnormal rates of growth: genetic physiology.
Anthropometry.
Gymnastics; athletics; play; games.
Feeblemindedness: idiocy, imbecility, etc.
Cretinism, epilepsy, chorea, etc.
Arrests of development.
Genius, precocity, belatedness, etc.
Ontogeny and phylogeny.
Food in physiology and in psychology.
Obsession, paranoia, melancholia, etc.
Narcotics and stimulants.
Localizations of functions.
Sex development, puberty, adolescence.
Periodicity.
Conversion, regeneration, etc.
Heredity, environment, etc.
Race.
Sense-memory.
The intellectual, volitional, and emotional elements in sensation.
Corporal punishment.
The minds of various animals.
Cross heredity; masculine woman; bisexed mind; etc.
True and space senses; other special senses.
Fatigue.[1]

Closely related, of course, to psychology and to physiology is pathology, to which an entire profession devotes itself. It is a question whether a person who has never

[1] See the files of *Pedagogical Seminary* and of *Journal of Psychology; Adolescence: its Psychology;* bibliographies, in *Educational Review;* Baldwin, *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology;* etc. A thousand other titles seem quite as important, though perhaps not quite so near the beginning of these sciences.

experienced a pathological state has fully entered into the life of civilized humanity; and for two reasons. Of these, the first is that the perfectly healthy man is one whose mind has never overcome and exhausted his body; whereas, until such reduction of the body to the mind, certain states of consciousness that teach man his nature are never realized. Perfect health knows neither ecstasy nor exhaustion, both clearly pathological states, that build echoing halls in the soul. The second reason is that one knows his fellows only through a sympathy that comprehends from experience. Never to be ill, never to be wounded, never to be weak, never to be excited or too weary for hunger or for sleep, never to be face to face with death, never to know pain, is never to feel the common emotions of humanity, and, therefore, would seem to be isolation from humanity.[1] Taking life as a school (and what else is it?), one might also be justified in looking upon disease and the causes and conditions of disease as among the privileges of humanity. To the animal, a serious disease means death; to the man, environed by knowledge and skill, it means education. Sickness has bound more persons together in common affection than all other causes for sympathy taken together. Moreover, it has taught men more of Nature than all other agencies taken together. The chief motive in science is the desire to know the causes of disease. Pathology is the heart of all sciences. Pain is the mother of progress.[2]

Closely related to pathology is criminology, broadly defined. Unfortunately, crime is partly an artificial matter, a thing of definition, of tradition, of custom, rather than of reason, for a crime is a deed supposed to be

[1] Nietzsche, *Uebermensch.*

[2] Pain is the original sense. Wundt, *Human and Animal Psychology*, pp. 223–232. Its recollection causes fear, which forces improvement. Darwin, *Origin of Species*, chapter viii.

both a sin and a sanction,[1] a deed at once wrong and forbidden. A sin, morally, is a deed of harm to one's self or to one's neighbors, an act of injury, an evidence of malice. A crime is a deed against the law as expressed by government.[2] Were government perfectly intelligent and perfectly righteous, every crime would be a sin; and whatever sin was sufficiently injurious to one's self or to one's neighbors to threaten the welfare of society would be a crime; and nothing else would be. But because there are some crimes not essentially sinful, and many sins not legally recognized as criminal; therefore, crime is partly an artificial and partly a defective matter. And yet criminology, the science of the prevention and cure of crime, is a subject of no slight importance not only to statesmen, but also to educators, because if all educators understood perfectly how to educate, the sins that are crimes would never be committed, for there would be no sinners, and the crimes that are not-sins would be erased from the statute books. Then all lawmakers would be moralists; and no moralist can tolerate the notion of forbidding and punishing as a crime any act that is not dangerous to one's self or to one's fellows.

Criminology stands to education in much the same relation as that in which pathology stands to medicine; for as the essence of medicine is hygiene, so the essence of education is conduct.[3] The pathological state is the result of unhygienic living or conditions, while the criminal state is the result of a soul or of an environment that knows not education. Only the uneducated are criminal? Not that. There are criminals whose deeds were not sins. Only the uneducated are sinful? Not that. But only the incompletely educated are sinful, for the very commission

[1] Bouvier, *Law Dictionary;* also, files of *Penology*, especially Collins, 1891, pp. 27–29, and Wey, 1891, pp. 57–69.

[2] Holmes, *Common Law*, pp. 49, 50.

[3] Royce, *Outlines of Psychology*, chapter xv.

of sin is evidence of the incompletely evolved soul.[1] Exactly as a man who is perfectly well and entirely isolated from infection is certain not to develop disease, so the man who is perfectly educated and entirely isolated from ignorance (or from the ignorant) will not develop sin. Of course, such a proposition requires a special definition of education, the definition to which this entire book is devoted.

On two grounds, the double question is sometimes asked whether ignorant or uneducated persons can be moral or anything but moral. In *Romans*, Paul argued upon one line in answer. A perfectly ignorant man with a mind of normal powers is impossible. Only the idiot is perfectly ignorant, thought-proof. Ignorance, therefore, requires definition. This much is certain: the man who knows nothing in the premises cannot be guilty because he is not malicious, but no more is he righteous, for he cannot be making a choice between right and wrong. All one's knowledge lies within the range of his morality. A child cannot steal. A boy legislator cannot betray the public welfare. The conscript soldier, firing in his squad, does not commit murder. Taking, voting, shooting, — whether in ignorance or under duress; whether mechanical or spontaneous or superstitious, — if without understanding, cannot be sins. The illiterate heir to an estate who signed a paper giving away the title was not generous. The childless uncle who at his death left his fortune to his nephews deserved no gratitude. The intention, which is conditioned by knowledge, makes the deed good or evil.[2]

The sinner precedes or commits the crime. The functions of criminology, therefore, are three: to discriminate among crimes the sins and the not-sins, to prevent sins, and to reform sinners. The criminologist owes it to humanity to persuade the State to abolish all crimes that are not-sins; he should study the causes of sin that

[1] Beecher, *The Conflict of Ages*, pp. 36, 37.

[2] This is the familiar point of agreement between the law of the land and the ethics of the schools.

lie in the conditions of society as well as those that lie in the nature of the sinner, and should persuade the State to remedy those conditions; and he should study the sinful and the methods of reforming them.

The criminologists, however, are few; and criminology is but in its beginnings as a science. The evaluations of sins are often absurd,[1] while the punishments, if any, are often scarcely less absurd. Every criminologist should be fundamentally an educator. The science of education must have criminology as one of its foundations; or, to speak conversely, criminology is, in greatest portion, but a department of education.

We educate, or rather train (or, shall I say, instruct) for the routine of life; and the educated like the uneducated fail, seem ever to fail, in times of crisis. It is a matter of familiar knowledge that skilled mechanics and men or women, who are manually, that is, organically, educated, are never to be found in penitentiaries or jails. The graduate of the professional school, the graduate of the college, the banker, the merchant, the clerk, the hotel-keeper, the bar-tender, the laborer, the foreigner, and even the farmer: all these are to be found among the criminals, for they may become criminals. But almost no mechanics and almost no mothers are ever to be found within prison-walls. Why are these facts what they are?

Consider the greater sins, forgetting which of them are crimes. These are treachery, lying, stealing, fornicating,

[1] "The underpaid labor, the prolonged and groveling drudgery, the wasted strength, and misery and squalor, the diseases resulting, and the premature deaths that would be prevented by a just distribution of the products of labor, would in a single year outweigh all the so-called crime of a century, for the prevention of which, it is said, government alone exists. This ignoring of great evils that constitute civilized society a vast theatre of woe, while so violently striking at small evils, is the mark of an effete civilization, and warns us of the approaching dotage of the race." Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, p. 320. Cf. Ross, "The Criminaloid," *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1907.

bribing, assault, destroying. All are characterized by getting something for less than its value, by perverting something from its natural function, or by sheer animal violence; and they may all be resolved into ecstasies of body or of soul or of both; whereas soul and body should be harmonious. These ecstasies consist in forgetting one's self or one's neighbors and in giving way to centrally excited sensations or feelings or desires in wanton disregard of results.[1]

A thousand crises must be faced in an active life. The wise and righteous man passes every crisis successfully and becomes a master of men: or he may have failed in some crises, only to learn from his failures and to pass later crises successfully. Of course, most men start with handicaps, it may be of body or of family, of heredity or of environment. But the race is not always to the swift or the battle always to the strong.[2] The worst handicaps are propensities to sins: yet these are the handicaps most neglected by the secular education of the times, which persistently forgets the inferior many and theorizes too much about the superior few.

Now become plain the two reasons why skilled mechanics and devoted mothers are almost immune to sins so bad as to constitute crimes: the mechanic by reason of his art or craft has learned, has become habituated to, physical self-control, is almost incapable of ecstasy, cannot forget himself; while the mother by reason of housework, of maternity, of care of husband and children, has become habituated to equal self-control, is also incapable of any ecstasy save that of forgetting herself through devotion to others. Sin can find no material in

[1] A peripheral sensation may have been the occasion of the central excitement; but the complete disturbance, the overthrow of the psychical equilibrium, is due to the presence in the soul of old memories, ancestral tropisms, hitherto established dispositions that cause the whole being to vibrate and oscillate in irrational tumult.

[2] Cf. *Ecclesiastes* ix, 11.

mechanics or mothers, who have learned real values in terms of labor and of interest and who have little time or energy for desiring something for nothing. Sin tempts mechanics and mothers and such as they are chiefly in the form of intoxicants to tide them over periods of undue weariness. He whom a rational art and poverty combine to master is safe against his own wantonness and the powers of this world. Convert, therefore, thy ambition into art and thy wealth into tools and thyself into a servant of many: for this is the highway to the kingdom of God, which is joy, peace, love in the secret recesses of the soul.

Another science of vast importance to education would be political economy, but a pseudo-science continues to masquerade under that name. The true political economy deals with the management of the wealth of the State as a domestic concern.[1] Blind natural law is repudiated by sound political economy, as it is by everything else that is sane and civilized. Moreover, a sane political economy recognizes that in modern days we do not deal in wealth-as-such, but in property-in-wealth, not in goods free, but in goods owned, that is, in goods conditioned by public and private law.

The fundamental assumption of modern, current political economy is this: "The starting-point in all human activity is the existence of wants." [2] This is, of course, a fallacy, for a want implies a power to want. This is *a priori* truth. *A posteriori*, we know that all human activity in fact is the result of powers. To apply the Aristotelian test, — who wants most? The sickest man. Who is least active? He who is most ill. Again, who is most active? The man of greatest power. A similar

[1] Political economy, πόλις = city (State); οἶκος = household; νόμος = order. Cf. Ruskin, *Unto this Last; Fors Clavigera.*

[2] Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, chapter i, p. 3. An exposition of great ability, exactly wrong.

analysis shows that not labor as such, but power or energy developed as skill, produces the typical modern forms of abundant wealth.[1]

The present common economic analysis gives the distribution of wealth to land, to capital, to labor, to management, to insurance, and to government. Every educator should understand and should teach his boys and girls, his youth and maidens, to understand rent, interest, wages, profits, premiums, and taxes. Moreover, he should understand real values and money prices, competition and coöperation, and the incidence of laws. Lastly, he should understand poverty, luxury, and population laws.

He who does understand these elementary matters will be an advocate of qualification tests for legislators not less drastic than those for physicians. The body politic is the prey to quacks and scoundrels: between the knaves and the fools, the public is beginning to perish. This is the way of all civilizations. God seems not yet to reveal to men how to produce enough good and wise rulers to lead any people forever forward. His will appears to design historic cycles rather than marches.[2]

Upon this analysis, the scientific elements for the new science of education are disclosed. But has the science of sciences, philosophy, nothing to contribute? Has history nothing? Has literature nothing? Have the arts nothing? Vast stores of facts; elevating ideals; warnings; a high hope for the race; pleasures, emotions, leisure, beauty. These are their contributions of materials to education. Has religion nothing? Education is the main trunk of religion. And what of all lesser knowledges and skills? Materials, suggestions, devices.

[1] *Per contra*, George, *Progress and Poverty*. A new science will appear bearing to economics the same relation that astronomy bears to astrology. Cf. Patten, *New Basis of Civilization*, chapter v.

[2] Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, chapters viii, lviii.

The conclusion is that education is something substantial, integral, no mere congeries of borrowed ideas.

Its individual nature and character as a science will appear upon a consideration of the normal or typical progress of the child to the old man. What is the course?

The newborn babe is slow to discover the world, whose light dawns upon him very gradually. What his first consciousness was, no human being as yet has remembered. It may be from the peripherally excited sensation of the change of temperature from the womb to the world; it may be that of the change from darkness to light; it may be the pain of birth; and it may be that even the fœtus or the embryo has consciousness. Quite possibly, consciousness is transmitted as part of the heritage with ovum and sperm.[1] After birth, however, the opportunities and the materials of consciousness are multiplied. By discovering the world, the babe discovers himself: he discovers this self not as body, but as spirit, which, as he differentiates and integrates it, becomes to child and man his soul — his ego. After this discovery, he is aware, upon certain occasions and in certain conditions, of himself as spectator and critic of his consciousness.

The little child discovers himself through his senses, but learns even the locations, not to say the functions, of his senses, general and special, long afterwards, if at all. He feels property in himself, his body, its parts. Things useful to him become his own like his body. The property-sense is the first mental activity that is above sensation and attention. Perception is making an idea one's own, that is, one's property. The familiar, the

[1] Angell and Thompson, "Organic Processes and Consciousness," *Psychol. Review*, vi, 1899, pp. 32–69. Hobhouse, *Mind in Evolution*, *passim*. Hall, *Evolution of Consciousness*. Baldwin and Cattell, "Consciousness and Evolution," *Science*, ii, 1895, pp. 219–222, 271–272. Cope, "Consciousness in Evolution," *Penn. Monthly*, vi, 1876, pp. 560–575.

understood, thing becomes proper to one: with it, one is at home. Along with this property-sense grows a more important sense of the use and function of the bodily parts and organs: a sense not analytic but synthetic, a sense of power accompanied by a desire for skill. To state this double matter otherwise: the soul is forthstepping to conquer the world and to possess it, and therefore takes wealth as property and exercises itself in and through its body for propriety. Thus acquisition and skill proceed almost *pari passu*, for a time.

Before the consciousness of possessing a body to be trained is fully established, the desirability of knowing the world remote from hand and ear and eye begins to stir in the soul. Such is the beginning of the search into Nature, a search seldom abated voluntarily while life lasts. To possess things, to control one's body, to know the real world: these mark the limits of the activities of many men. To these, all matters of religion, of family, of politics, of society, of business, are but tributary, — important, if serviceable, but otherwise incidental and often objectionable. In truth, unless deliberately educated by others, most human beings cannot compass more than these notions and functions of property, of the body, and of the physical world.

The next stage in psychical growth is that of return to one's self, to inquire into the real self. This leads to the discovery of soul and body, — but words to most persons. Their differentiation and recognition as interrelated but not causally connected integral things, the healthful body being a good servant and the unhealthful a bad master, the vigorous soul respecting but regulating, even ruling the body, are events of major importance in the course of a complete education. To know one's own body, one must know biology, zoölogy, physiology, histology, physics, chemistry, mechanics: to know one's own soul, one must know philosophy, history, literature,

religion, morality, government, psychology; for this is science, to connect one thing with everything else.[1] Thereby consciousness passes into self-consciousness.[2]

Now arises a new and higher self-control, the earlier being physical, this being psychical. Beyond self-knowledge and self-control lies self-direction. Once more the individual must pass beyond and outside of himself to know the world. Now he must know the world of human society so well, and must trust himself so thoroughly in it, as to will for himself his course of action in it. Such an individual is rare, indeed.

And yet even now his education is not complete. The self-directing individual who can overcome society at least to the extent of forcing his own way in it may grow into the man of social control. Such a man takes the world as his own and overcomes it. He has learned to think not only for himself and for his own, but for most other persons as community and as society. He becomes a popular demigod or a national hero.

Higher yet may a man rise by this zigzagging between world and self, object and subject. He may absorb the world into his own heart and yearn over it as a mother over a child, loving the world better than himself, listening to its needs, trying to help humanity bear its burdens and redeem its life. Such a man is incomprehensible to all other men than those of his own measure and nature.[3]

Consciousness is the first evidence of psychical progress: to possess it is a fundamental necessity without

[1] Münsterberg, *Principles of Art Education*, p. 16 *et passim*.

[2] Self-consciousness is the evidence of the soul, which can never see itself, or know its *locus*, or foresee its destiny. The discontinuity of self-consciousness — far more clear and complete than the discontinuity of consciousness — appears as a mode of recurrence of the soul in the fashion of a tenant absent at times upon other business incommunicable through the present body.

[3] Urban, "The Individual and the Social Value Series," *Philosophical Review*, xi, 1900. Chancellor, *Our Schools*, p. 310.

which goodness and intelligence are meaningless as terms of human morals and mental activity.

The second stage is sense-knowledge, which gives at once property-in-things and property-in-self. He is good who treats himself well and preserves his own property; and he is intelligent who knows how to get and how to keep property and how to use his own body for pleasure and profit. Of one who is in this stage and incapable of going higher, selfishness must not be predicated as sinfulness, or self-gratification as ignorant narrowness of mind. Children of ten years of age are entirely justified in delighting in possessions and in practicing their bodily powers in games and in drills.

The third stage is knowledge of the world of sense. To be good in this stage is to enjoy the delights of sense without surrendering to them. These delights are many, and they tend to feed and to develop the "lust of the eye" and the "pride of life."[1] Covetousness of property sets in, because much property enables one directly and indirectly to gratify the senses.[2] Sins flaunt their pleasures before one. The senses plead for gratification. Taste calls for wine, and hearing for music; sight calls for jewels, and smell for attar of roses; touch calls for silks, and temperature for perpetual summer; the muscles cry for play and for leisure, and sex for its ecstasy; pride calls for the powers of property, and vaunts itself above the poorer; and all together demand money, which in this age short-circuits to all sense-delights. To escape social restraints, one travels, indulging among strangers the sense-activities that seem vices among friends. Then result thievery, adultery, drunkenness, arson, murder,

[1] John, 1 *Epistle* ii, 16.

[2] Covetousness is an arrest of development in the property-age of childhood. Avarice is an arrest in the next later period. "The covetous person is always drunken, day and night, watching and sleeping." Saint Augustine, *Homilies*, p. 232.

and betrayals of every kind. He is good who yields to none of these temptations. He is intelligent who uses every sense as a tool for knowledge and for service.

Vast as is the world opened to us by the senses, it is small and trivial compared with the world of the higher stage of the soul. He is good in this fourth stage who does everything in love of himself and of his neighbor, conceiving that I and my neighbor are upon a journey that is never to end.[1] And he is intelligent who so orders his days and his acts that all contribute to permanent good, to enduring welfare of one's self and of one's neighbors. This, of course, is obvious; and yet it is possible to enter upon this stage of knowledge of body and soul and to sin there far more terribly than in any earlier stage of development. Many have betrayed their own souls.[2] So high is this stage that the State scarcely attempts to punish such sins as crimes. There are treasons against society organized as the State more horrid than to furnish news or supplies to an enemy in war. These are the treasons that rot society, poisoning the fountain-head of social justice. It is the kind of sin that to Dante seemed most awful.[3] To make righteousness a

[1] The most effective sermon that I ever heard was preached in Providence about the year 1888 by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Mackenzie of Cambridge upon the eternal life. At its climax, he said that David had asked for a long life, for threescore years and ten. It is glorious to live out one's life for seventy years. But why not plan for seventy thousand years? Why not plan to live throughout eternity? Cf. Royce, *The Implications of Self-consciousness; The World and the Individual;* both *passim*. Also, James, *Human Immortality*.

[2] I remember with peculiar vividness a conversation with President Julius H. Seelye of Amherst, who said that of all the mysteries of life, the most mysterious to him was that God established a reasonable being who could yet act unreasonably. He considered sin of this character evidence of free will.

[3] In his age, this took the form of "the simony of the Popes." One of its worst modern forms is the manufacture of public opinion by newspaper accounts that build up fictions into the verisimilitude of facts and thereby deceive even the elect.

mock, to pollute the intelligence of man, woman, child, community, nation, to teach vileness as evidence of smartness: these have been the ambition of some, whose names are unfit for these pages.

The fifth stage is yet higher. Few have ever attained it. To become self-directed in the world, to know the time-spirit and to work freely with it or against it, — this is beyond the limits of the minds of nearly all men. But what is it for the self-directing man to be good? This: never to secure one's own end at any cost to another. And what is it to be intelligent? To know how to secure one's own end. He, therefore, who is both wise and good, the self-directing man of intelligence and of personal and social morality, secures his own ends without injury to others. Only the genius, only a few among geniuses, can accomplish this. The rest make a wreck of those about them.

Yet higher is social control. He is good who sets the world about him to the work of its own development, and he is intelligent who so directs that work as to produce prosperity among his people. And he is evil who sets the world to do work for himself; and he foolish who fails finally in his effort. Napoleon lived in this stage of personal evolution; and failed because he was mainly bad and became foolish. Washington succeeded in this stage.

The imagination of man compasses yet one higher stage, comprehension of the world-spirit, relating it to the time-spirit, and interpreting it by the personal spirit. This stage includes every other, includes social direction, self-direction, knowledge of body and soul, sense-knowledge, physical skill, property in things and in one's own body and consciousness. Plato and Socrates failed to attain this stage, the one lacking self-surrender and the other social mastery. Lincoln failed to attain it, lacking but one grace.

The Gospel story of Jesus Christ, which upon internal evidence appears to be defective as well as erroneous, nevertheless reveals the ideal person and, therefore, the redeemer of mankind. According to the story, the Master passed through every stage and through nearly every experience in every stage until He attained the highest. As a boy, He was taken down into Egypt, an experience of travel and sojourn very useful in securing self-alienation. Later, He acquired a manual art. Though forced into early self-consciousness by his experience with the doctors in the Temple at Jerusalem, He remained obedient to his parents throughout adolescence. Whether the story of the temptation in the wilderness by the devil be allegorical or historical, what it displays is that Jesus became conscious that a man of his powers might master the world. Later, his followers desired to make Him King, but what He had already renounced as a matter of securing by force of ability He again renounced even as a matter of receiving by social favor. By preaching, by teaching, and by healing, He had set the beginnings of a new order among men. Meantime, He had consorted with publicans and harlots and had been tempted by every pleasure of the senses, yet had overcome. Finally, though well aware that He might escape by deceit or by flight or by an army of angels, He submitted to an illegal and unjust sentence and accepted an ignominious death on the cross rather than set a whole world in chaos. Like Socrates, Jesus had lived by the laws of his country and therefore would die by them. Such, in outline, is the record of the only sinless man who achieved social power. Buddha almost attained; perhaps he did in reality. But for most men such an end, indeed, any end is a horror, for we have not achieved the victory over death. To achieve this, it is necessary to learn the world-spirit, which involves proceeding consciously from stage to stage up the long way

to world-understanding through self-renunciation. God Himself has naught to gain by all his labors through all the eternities and all the infinities. As far as we know or can understand, He is the Alpha and the Omega; and his beginning is as his end.

"Behold, thy God sublime,
Through agonies of Time,
In silence and alone,
The King without a crown,
Unchanged throughout all change,
The infinitely strange,
Forever gives and gives,
And by His giving lives."[1]

What, then, are the purposes of education? Considered scientifically and considered philosophically, they are the same. Whether for men or for women, they are the same. Whether for the children of the rich and of the wise, or for those of the poor and of the ignorant, they are the same. As far as he has capacity, the individual must repeat those stages in the history of the race which saw progress in social welfare, and should attempt those stages in the histories of the good and intelligent individuals which lie within the compass of his developing powers. By recapitulating the social and the personal processes, formal education proposes to develop as much as possible as many individuals as possible.

And the fundamental motive in education is to bring man, the race, into harmony with the will of God for the men and women of this world. One who realizes this motive has found "the mystery of eternity present at every hour of time."[2]

[1] Brook, *Ye Cannot Come.*

[2] Martineau, *Essays*, vol. ii, p. 46.

CHAPTER IX

THE FORMAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

So lost are we to all genetic perspective in education, in opening everything intellectual to everybody, with no reference to stages of development or grades of ability, that it is high time to remember that youth have a certain *non possumus* that it is dangerous longer to ignore. — HALL, *Adolescence; its Psychology*, etc., vol ii, p. 540.

The really essential point is the independence of the school. Whenever a school is considered preparatory, it suffers. No school is subordinate to another school; each school, college or university has its own life to live, and its own mission to fulfill; and that is to do its best for the development of the pupil during those years in which he is placed in its charge; and this mission is best fulfilled by disregarding everything else than the good of the child. Let no power on earth come between the child and childhood. — HUGHES, *The Making of Citizens*, p. 279.

WE may classify the materials employed by the formal system of education under three heads, — the humanities, the sciences, and the arts. And we may classify the exercises under three heads, — study, recitation, and physical work.

The humanities are those subjects by which humanity has expressed unsystematically and informally its knowledge of its own life, its aspirations, its reflections, its society, its customs, its morals. Literature and language, grammar and rhetoric, philosophy and history, and whatever is subordinate to them or is wholly composed of them, belong to the humanities.

The sciences are those subjects by which humanity has expressed its knowledge of the world beyond humanity, its laws, its facts, its relations, its nature, its tendency, and also those by which humanity is now able to express systematically and formally its knowledge of itself. Chemistry, physics, biology, geology, geography, anatomy, physiology, psychology, sociology, anthropology, histology, botany, ecology, philology, and many other subordinate subjects belong to the sciences.

The arts are those subjects by whose methods and devices humanity expresses its mastery of the world by setting its objects in the order or appearance of beauty or of harmonious utility. They include music, painting, architecture, sculpture, carpentry, iron-working, and many another exercise of skill. They may be assigned in groups under the term, "fine and industrial arts," or perhaps with intermediate groups of art-crafts and of applied sciences.

Not a few subjects are difficult to classify. Poetry is both a humanity and an art: medicine is both a science and an art, as is education also: or perhaps more exactly, medicine and education are or should be applied sciences: history is both a humanity and a science. Political science cannot be accurately classified; for, like political economy and, to a degree, history, it is composed of all three elements.

By employing these materials appropriately, the formal system of education proposes to accomplish the purposes of the school. As introductions to the humanities, it has invented two of "the three R's," reading and writing; as introductions to the sciences and arts, it invented arithmetic long ago, and Nature-study recently; and as introductions to the arts, it invented drawing and scale-singing. I call these affairs "inventions," though recognizing fully that in subject-matter they are either primitive or puerile or both. It is in their methods that reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, and singing are school inventions.

At this point, we come upon a singular matter. Adults of normal power and children of superior, or supernormal, power may enter upon the humanities, upon the sciences, and upon the arts without the formal bridging of these school arts. Of what use, then, are these mediate methods? First, to anticipate the natural maturing of the powers, to hasten the process, and to insure it. By

education, years of experience may often be saved; that is, education short-circuits experience. Second, to save those whom life by its haphazard and by its apparent chaos would otherwise ruin. This saving is accomplished by setting in order the ideas, and by training, disciplining, and regulating the functions, of the mind. Third, to found in the mind the elements of knowledge before it must face complexities; and thereby vastly to broaden its talents. For without the stimulus of the School arts, few would ever be versatile or open-minded or fortified upon more than a single side of their natures. Mere life tends to sharpness, narrowness, positiveness: it is intense. The School arts lead to roundness, breadth, balance, for the School is not focused upon mere success, which is survival among competitors.

These school arts, reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, drawing, and recently sewing, bench work, and calisthenics, must not be confused with the true arts suggested by these terms. The general public of adults and the artists and craftsmen (as also not a few schoolmasters) are often, perhaps usually, wrong in their estimate of these exercises. The causes of their error are characteristic: The general public think that children and youth approach all subjects as adults do, perhaps more slowly and weakly, yet with essentially the same powers. The artists and craftsmen suppose that the subjects are pursued for their own sake, whereas in fact they are pursued solely for the sake of the students. The difference is wholly a matter of the point of view with a resultant antipodal opposition in method. Because of the difference in method, reading is not literature, writing is neither penmanship nor literary composition, singing is not music either as science or as art, drawing is not etching, not painting, not architecture, not design, sewing is not tailoring, bench work is not carpentry or cabinet-making, and calisthenics are not gymnastics; but each is an admirable preparation for its respective art or craft, a setting out toward a goal, a strengthening for reality.

A school art (contrary to popular notions and to artistic prejudices) is not to be taken too seriously. The parent who said of her ten-year-old son, "Well, I should think Johnny would not try to write his composition neatly when he knows that his teacher will throw it into the waste basket without a second reading," did not understand child nature. John could not be persuaded to write at all, if he supposed that his little paper would be photographed and reproduced in facsimile for publication in a monthly magazine and treasured up against him to the day of his death.[1]

A school art is mediate, its product is ephemeral, and its motive is solely educational, being the desire to grow rapidly and well.[2]

The formal system of education takes the school arts, the humanities, the sciences, and the true arts, and so disposes their subject-matter and their exercises of method as to promote the growth of boys and girls into healthy, competent, and happy men and women, useful to one another; or should do so. Moreover, beside the school arts, there are several other knowledges and skills so strangely transformed by educational requirements as to be only in name what they seem to be. The general history and even the United States history are arranged and edited for school use quite beyond identification with the true subject of history. Literature is emasculated without being feminized, its editing being a process partly of elimination and of generalization and partly of reduction from adult truthfulness to educational serviceability. Geography, though confessedly made simple, is supposed to be made also encyclopedic, yet scarcely one cycle is discoverable in it. However, geography is more nearly what it purports to be than any other subject in the curriculum of the first seven or eight years.

The problem of educational method is how to arrange the studies, lessons, exercises, games so as really to promote the growth of the soul, to advance its welfare, to

[1] All that John asks is that his teacher and perhaps his mother learn from his product what he is.

[2] Kehr, *Geschichte der Methodik.*

relate it happily and profitably to what is best in the world. This is the problem of pedagogy, its function, its responsibility; and I confess grave doubts as to its general success.

Naturally, education in all its lines of endeavor, in pedagogy as in everything else, has followed the line of least resistance. In this case, the line has been traced through the traditional course in subject-matter, partly because it is traditional, partly because it is subjective and speculative, partly because it seemed to recapitulate the racial experience, and partly because human life seems too sacred for experiment. The tradition is easy to follow, easy for the conscience as well as for the intellect. What was good for the father may be, perhaps must be, good for the son. All caste is based upon this notion, and caste has controlled ages and millions of the civilized. The old course has been solidly established in the mind of the teacher. He is sure of its facts and of its principles, of its methods and of its results. Every presumption is in its favor. It made him what he is. Now the teacher is characteristically not self-alienated, for he has had no "practical experience in life." Such experience means learning by undirected experiment upon untried affairs. It is "practical experience" for a theological student to get out among the people as a book agent or street traction employee; or for a lawyer to serve as clerk in a store; or for a college professor to try farming. In the popular sense of the term, the practical man has no instruction from others and no consciously and intelligently worked out theory of his own to guide him. In this sense, the practical man is "self-made." The value of practical experience is in securing thereby self-alienation through familiarizing one's self with self-absorbing enterprises of which hitherto one knew nothing. Since God has made the human mind a generally efficient agent, frequently by practical experience one becomes

very skillful in a strange art, of whose methods one knows nothing scientifically.[1] Such experience, when successful, breeds confidence in one's own powers, develops sympathy with others, and by projecting self out of one's self into the world shows one's self to the self. The instruction of others can never accomplish so much for one. I do not mean that the untaught artist will surpass in skill one who is well taught: far otherwise. I mean that one who knows nothing beside what he has been taught and what he has experienced in connection with his learning will never know himself.

The typical teacher has this education: an elementary school course, three or four years of high school, one, two, or three years of normal school or four years of college. Then he or she immediately begins teaching. All that he knows consists of home, of school, and of friends, and nothing of a world not of home, not of school, not of friends. But such an experience discovers only a part, a very small part, of the real world. It is group life, — not communal, not social life.

Of necessity, so trained, the professional teacher is narrow. Here rests the sole philosophical justification of the board of education's consisting of laymen and looking with worldly eyes upon teachers and their institution, the School. Having no particular will or emotion in repeating in his own school the lessons taught him in the schools of his childhood, the teacher tends to rely upon his intellect alone and unfortunately upon but two intellectual functions, attention and memory, and mainly the latter. The educational result is too familiar to need emphasis here. The School, which ought to drive against inefficiency and immorality, ignores these perils and confines its weak efforts to illiteracy, broadly conceived. The applauded graduate of the school, the "scholar," is a bookman and very little more, seldom even a book writer.

Obviously, we must correct this in the interests of humanity, of progress, of sound culture, of social righteousness. The

[1] Hadley, *The Education of the American Citizen*, Twelfth Paper.

formal system of education must deal with far more than it yet sees.[1] To begin at the true beginning, education must secure whole-hearted and strong-willed as well as learned teachers.

As a matter of self-alienation, no experience in life enforces such self-understanding as marriage and parentage. And yet by our salaries, and in the case of our women often by our rules, we forbid marriage and parentage. As certainly as that nothing that is false to human nature can last, this prescription of celibacy for women teachers cannot last.[2]

It is a commonplace among school superintendents that the youthful normal school graduates are too young to teach boys and girls over twelve years of age; despite the fact that they are nearer them in age, these girls have very little sympathy with, or understanding of, these adolescents. They do better, we all say, with young children. The reason is perfectly clear. The maiden of twenty is still in adolescence, but out of childhood. Adolescence is a true self-alienation from childhood, and gives a point of view and a perspective for childhood. The young maidens, the virgins of thirty years, and the "old maids" who understand boys and girls above thirteen years of age are very, very few. Those who do not understand them are, of course, out of place in grammar and high schools. I say "of course," knowing that my statement is a challenge of existing conditions. I am ready to agree that the unmarried young man is quite as much out of place in grammar or high school as the unwedded woman. My proposition is very broad. As the legal profession, the clerical, and the medical is composed mostly of men who are husbands and fathers, I believe that *the educational profession should be composed mostly of parents.*

But, it may be objected, we have no ban upon married men in the profession. Many and many a time, I have known boards of education to refuse to appoint a man with a wife and family to a position paying but eight hundred or a thou-

[1] Tyler, *Growth and Education.*

[2] The City of New York, the District of Columbia, and several other municipalities now employ married women freely.

sand dollars, despite the fact that the candidate was ready to take the salary. The reason submitted by the board is always this: "They cannot live decently upon the money." Perhaps not. Perhaps it is also true that married men willing to take the sum are inferior in ability and in energy to unmarried men of that money-value. I have an opinion that for a young man to dare risk the support of a wife, in this age, bears testimony either to uncommon energy or to uncommon folly; and am willing to trust to professional examination the elimination of the fools.

To the establishment of a formal system of education, such as the nation needs, the first essential is securing the right kind of educators, both men and women. Husband and grown children must be no more a bar than wife and children. On the contrary, they should constitute a favorable element in a candidacy for appointment.

To this proposition there will be several objections. To consider them with the utmost brevity. — The first objection is that for a wife and mother to support herself and to help in the support of her children is to break up the family. Historically and logically, this is arrant nonsense. Through untold ages until the invention of machinery and business-based-on-money-exchange, mothers supported their children. Do not imagine that the prolongation of infancy that made man human was a feat performed by the father alone or by the father mainly. It was the victory of the mother over a lower animalism that she first outgrew, teaching the father by her example. Until machinery multiplied goods and exchange transferred them with extreme ease, mothers were as essential to the home as were fathers: they cooked, wove, sewed, planted, as well as bore the babes and suckled them. Millions of mothers to-day work as hard as do the fathers to feed and clothe the children. Several millions are factory operatives and store clerks, bringing home their wages for the family use; and trying to keep house by evening, Sunday, and before-day-dawn labor. There is nothing unwomanly, nothing

unmotherly, nothing unhistorical in the support of children by mothers.[1]

Another objection is that women teachers who are also mothers will neglect their school work because of home duties in out-of-school hours. Unless made specific, such an objection does not sit well upon the lips either of men, who are characteristically less conscientious than women in matters of detail, or of unmarried women, many of whom are very properly spending their evenings and holidays in companionship with possible husbands. The woman teacher who, well past thirty, has entirely given up the desire or the fond fear of marriage may perhaps safely criticise her married sister who wishes to become or to continue a teacher; that is, she may, unless, as is very often the case, she is the housekeeper for invalid parents or other relatives in dependence upon her. One specific averment does lie against the young married woman; but when we all come, as we should, to the view that a leave of absence for a few years should be enforced upon teachers every sabbatical period and freely granted upon request at any time, we shall be glad to see the happily married woman and mother in our schools. The notion that a teacher must teach two hundred days every year or cease to be a teacher is a survival of the time when teachers were bondmen.

Another objection supposed to lie against the employment of married women whose husbands are living is that their employment displaces unmarried women. This objection is not valid against the proposition to employ only the married women with talent, training, and successful experience before marriage. *We are certainly not supplied in America with a sufficient number of good teachers.* With married men shut out from the elementary school-rooms as class teachers because of poor salaries, and with married women, however skillful, shut out by regulations or by fixed custom, we are forced to accept as teachers many young girls with neither talent nor training for educational duties. There are 300,000 maiden school teachers in America; but only 2,000,000 maids

[1] Gilman, *Human Work;* also various poems.

above twenty-one years of age in all. Not one woman in seven is really born with the talents and the disposition for teaching. In our country now, every year one maid in five of our school teachers gives up teaching for marriage; and some inexperienced girl five years younger than herself takes her place, or tries to take it. Against a double injustice, — to the school children and to the teacher, — I raise this protest.

All other objections to married women appear frivolous; that they will obey their husbands rather than their principals; that they should be housekeepers rather than teachers; and that their husbands will live in idleness upon their earnings. The answers to these objections are too obvious for explanation; intelligent American women are no longer "obedient" to any one, but faithful in a larger sense than enslaved wives could ever be; housekeeping is not synonymous with motherhood or homemaking; and the kind of woman who was so successful in teaching before marriage that her services are desired after marriage seldom chooses a loafer as a husband.

To found, then, a formal system of education, competent for its purposes in a democracy, we require that the majority of our teachers of boys and girls above twelve shall be husbands or wives, fathers or mothers, and that some of our teachers of smaller children shall be parents. In the college, university, and professional school, the professors are men of family. Especially in the high school do we need to follow their example. Fathers and mothers of grown boys and girls are none too experienced, none too wise to manage the boys and girls of other parents. A high school of a thousand students needs a faculty of forty or fifty teachers, ten or a dozen fathers, as many mothers, and a minority only of subordinate bachelors and maidens, corresponding to the youthful tutors of the colleges and ushers of the English schools.

A young woman "studying to be a teacher" should be studying as much for her life work as she who is studying law or medicine or theology, or any young man who is studying for any profession. This is the sane view. Without it, there can never be a profession of education. Without it, we can never make a profession of what, to a majority of the

practitioners, is now merely a makeshift until marriage or other "good fortune" relieves them of the unhappy "necessity" to teach.

The employment, to this time constantly increasing both absolutely and relatively, of young women and of unmarried women as teachers was originally due to three causes, two meritorious and the third temporarily necessary but now discreditable. Of these, the first was the fact that with rising standards of professional preparation for teachers, the young women just out of school were actually to be preferred to older men and women not equally well prepared. Many experienced teachers, male and female, without training, were displaced or replaced by younger but better equipped women. The second was the fact, already presented, that woman is often peculiarly fitted by age and disposition to teach sympathetically the children from four to ten years of age.[1] It is still true and is likely always to be true that buoyant, carefree girls and young women from nineteen to twenty-five or twenty-eight years of age make particularly good kindergartners. The third reason was the institution in cities of compulsory education: this forced many children into school, especially children from eleven to fourteen years of age. Consequently, boards of education found it necessary to employ many more teachers than before. The most available persons to be secured by the insufficient funds of these governing boards were the young women of the country such as before 1875 had very few economic opportunities. Their labor was cheap and has remained cheap, despite the wonderful improvement in its quality. Because of the number of such teachers, their employment became a "cult" carefully fostered by thrifty tax-payers. A century ago only, of the women, "dames" and "goodbodies," that is, mothers and housewives, were ever employed as teachers. The young girls were found not only cheap but very amenable to lay control by school trustees and visitors. The "cult" throve until it has become almost a superstition. But in this age,

[1] Chamberlain, *The Child in Folk-thought*, p. 236; Thompson, *Day Dreams of a Schoolmaster*, p. 120.

when the School is being restored to the control of educators as professional superintendents, principals, and supervisors, the rights of the child to education by the best teachers are also being restored, and the mothers and the fathers are coming back into the schools as teachers. The cult, scarcely three decades in duration, will soon be recognized as a fad and will pass into history as a curious example of the force of temporary economic and cultural conditions.

A competent profession of educators, exercising the authority already sufficiently indicated, supplied with buildings, apparatus, and salaries worthy of the cause, would conduct education upon lines and by methods, devices, and materials quite beyond the imagination of the practical worker in these transition days when universal education is impoverished, weak, and empirical. What formal system it would establish no man can foresee. And yet few will doubt that certain features would appear. These I submit one by one, expecting a challenge of each, and knowing that I cannot be right in all.

First: The period of education, while compulsory, will be arbitrary not as to age but as to attainment. Every boy and every girl will be kept at school until adolescence has passed its climax and character and intelligence have been well established. The ideal is to send out each graduate literate, efficient, and moral, able to understand at least the important phases of neighboring society, ready to do something worth while, and strong not only to resist temptation, but also to help others in righteousness. Every depraved and vicious boy and girl, man and woman, — by whatever name they may be called, by whatever immorality he or she may take a living out of the world, and whether their gambling or drunkenness or tramping or promiscuity or other criminality be a survival of primitive and natural conditions, which the good have overcome, or whether these ecstasies

or sorrows be perversions due to a multitudinous humanity, careless of its degenerates, — is evidence that education is incomplete, and that the School does not yet perform its perfect work.

Second: The materials of education will be widely varied to meet different individuals and to remedy different social conditions. All the elementary work will, however, be done in one "common school" for all as now, the ideal *einheitsschule* of the German Democrats, our real school dedicated to equality of opportunity. Options and electives must be multiplied, and "constants," though maintained in definite form, must be reduced in number.[1] The "bents," when bad, must be made straight; when good, must be followed. Aptitudes and interests must be atrophied when dangerous and nourished when profitable. We must aim at breadth of mind, at sincerity of heart, and at strength of will. Ideals, which issue from knowledge functioning as aims and guides, must be implanted in curiosity by teaching facts upon principle, and motives, which issue from knowledge functioning as impulses and desires, must be developed in feeling by action likewise upon principle.

Third: Study, recitation, lecture, and exercises must be proportioned not only to the various grades of the School, but also to the various individuals. The desideratum is to do away with idleness and to secure in every moment work or whole-hearted play or perfect rest. Since we are to keep the boy and the girl at school until educated, and since we are to give them the materials needed by their souls, we must see that every moment counts for growth.

Fourth: The School "as good as the people want" is as useless as the Church that is no better than its attendants and neighbors. The School must be rescued

[1] Harris, *Educational Values*, Report, 1893-94, p. 617.

from mediocrity and supineness and sordidness. It must be made so good as to be a happy memory and a constant inspiration when school days are over. Knowing the schools of the people as they are, I marvel that the people are as intelligent and as good as they are. The kindness overflowing from strength that is anxious to be of service, the love of truth that characterizes men and women of free nobility, the sense of beauty potent in the souls that mean to bring ideals to reality and to harmonize art and fact, and the wealth that God and invention have now made possible everywhere in this land, must transform the actual School of the present into the enlarged, enkindled, enriched, and ennobled School of the future, to the end that as many as possible (not merely the survivors of a narrow formalism) shall be saved for themselves and for this nation. The vicious do not desire such a School, nor do the avaricious, the tyrannical, or the slothful; for vice feeds on ignorance and begets it, and avarice thinks to grow rich upon the forced labor of the starveling, tyranny fears the intelligent, and sloth is scornful of the diligent. The School must not reflect civilization as it is, but must image the civilization that may come to pass. The formalism of these times, which hides its shallowness and insufficiency behind programmes, courses, reports, regulations, and routine drudgery, must give way to life, to the informal that is spiritual. And the life will justify itself, as it has in all ages of the past, by creating new and larger forms and modes for the larger spirit that is ever flowing into the soul of man. The new School will be a relation between teacher and learner: all the rest will be incidental. As Confucius said, "Better a conversation with a wise man than five years of the study of books." The School must be for every pupil a walk and conversation with wise men, such as use forms and modes not as ends but as means. The real product of the good School is

not high marks, fine compositions, beautiful drawings, the Latin essay, a steam-engine, but youth who love the light and are strong for service.

Fifth: Studies and exercises of every description will be evaluated with reference to the pupils and graded according to their needs. The boy will not study all American history consecutively when fifteen years of age because "he will soon leave school," nor will the girl study "Evangeline" because "every American should know something of Longfellow." The location of studies and exercises will be determined solely in the interest of the pupil, for the purpose of the School is to furnish forth into life the best possible man or woman. By assuming this sovereignty, the School renounces all obligations of service to Church, to State, to Business, to Art, and to Culture. It teaches nothing upon dictation; and the sole utilitarianism that it knows is the utilitarianism of providing for Society capable, righteous, and learned men and women. On the other hand, and indeed as a consequence of this position, the School will utilize, as never before, all knowledge and art in the preparation of men and women; and it will serve, therefore, as never before, Society and all its institutions. Of course, when the School aims to send out completely educated young men and women, the man who is only a business man will deplore the rising wages and the insufficiency of cheap help, he who is only a politician will resent the activity of independents, he who is only a clergyman will mourn the prevalence of free thinkers, and he who "wants a submissive wife" or some other woman victim of "man's superiority" will want her forever, since none will be ready for the sacrifice. For when the School is strong and bold enough to evaluate and locate studies and exercises as the School chooses, we shall find many omissions and additions and changes in its management, curricula, and results; and its courses will display a

simplicity as gratifying to intelligent critics as it will be delightful to the pupils.

Sixth: The School will increase not only in number of subjects and exercises but in complexity of organization and in the variety of particular schools. We need schools for children under seven, schools for children from eight to twelve, schools for boys and girls from thirteen to sixteen, and schools for youth from seventeen to twenty. Each school requires a special kind of faculty and a peculiar kind of management, because each offers a characteristic problem. Whether two consecutive schools are under one roof is not very important, but they must have different teachers and different organization and administration.

This School of the future is forever coming to pass. Evidences of increasing independence, of growing knowledge, of new, higher, and larger ideals, while not on every hand, outweigh and outnumber all evidences to the contrary.

CHAPTER X

LEGISLATION, ADMINISTRATION, SUPERVISION, AND INSTRUCTION AS EDUCATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

For the letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive. — Paul, 2 *Corinthians* iii, 6.

In all things, Government and coöperation are the Laws of Life; Anarchy and competition, the Laws of Death. . . . Laws are the definitions and bonds of custom, or of what the Nation desires should become custom. Archic law directs what is or is not to be *done;* meristic law prescribes what is or is not to be *possessed;* and critic law defines what is or is not to be *suffered.* . . . All forms of government are good just so far as they attain this one vital necessity of policy — *that the wise and kind, few or many, shall govern the unwise and unkind.* — RUSKIN, *Munera Pulveris*, chapters v–vi.

What limit can be placed to this power of producing variations of organ and of function, reciprocally determined and interdependent, which acts through long ages and rigidly scrutinizes the whole constitution, structure, and habits of each creature, favoring the good and rejecting the bad? I can see no limit to this power, in slowly and beautifully adapting each form to the most complex relations of life. — DARWIN, *Origin of Species*, final chapter.

IN the evolution of human society, there has been discovered a wonderful machine by which progress may be intentionally produced by majority agreement, so that we need no longer to depend upon accidental collisions of persons and of groups, but in peaceful and orderly fashion may resolve upon and adopt our line of march. This wonderful machine has been the theme of many writers [1] and the resource of all modern progressives. It is the legislature of the delegates of the people operating the republic as a representative democracy.

Neither state nor government, neither legislature nor democracy, is the simple affair that it appears to be. Each indeed is so complicated as almost to defy analysis, history, and description. There is as yet no complete science of human nature, though this science has its beginnings in psy-

[1] "The legislator is essentially an inventor and a scientific discoverer." Ward, *Psychic Factors in Civilization*, p. 309.

chology. And there can be no complete science of democracy until there is a clear science of society: that is, we cannot know the people until we know both the political man and the private man, the latter of whom the Greeks called "idiot." Man in democracy is in the position of the prospector who has found gold but who must yet dig the mine to get the ore out.

The first, fundamental, distinctive, and characteristic legislature of a great democratic people, conscious of its power and hopeful of its destiny, is the convention to form the constitution, which is to be its basic law. This legislature meets occasionally.[1] Its every convention is a crisis in the history of the people. Once inaugurated, only the power of a military genius can prevent or overthrow it. At some point, every government depends upon autocratic will, — personal, oligarchic, aristocratic, democratic. The constitutional convention, whether or not it submits its decisions to the approval of other political bodies, expresses the will of democracy. The constitutional convention of our Nation was more genuinely democratic than that of any State save four, for its conclusion permits men and women alike to vote. In forty-one States, we are still governed by a political aristocracy of adult males.

The American constitutions, National and State, create the conditions of all the social institutions, — Religion, Government, Family, Property, Education, Culture, War, Business.

In the State of New Jersey, by virtue of the Constitution and of Acts of the Legislature, designed to make its provisions effective, the differentiation of the School from the State has

[1] If the American Constitution of 1787 had provided for a convention every forty or fifty years, probably there never would have been a War of Secession. Such a recurrent constitutional convention might be composed of two houses, one to consist of all living ex-Governors of States and the other of all living ex-Senators, ex-Presidents, and the Supreme Court Justices.

proceeded so far as to suggest the independent integration of the former. The State School Superintendent is a court of special and superior jurisdiction in all legal matters of public education, and appeals go from him to the State Board of Education. The State courts cannot interfere with any executive orders or legal interpretations issuing from City, County, and State Superintendents, or from the various municipal boards of education or the State Board, save that the Supreme Court may determine the constitutionality of a particular law. As a matter of custom, the State Legislature passes, with little or no change, the bills proposed by the State Board of Education. Every municipality is a school district, constituting a corporation separate from the ordinary city corporation. Municipal school officers are in no sense town or city officers, and are, therefore, independent of mayors, councils, and all other boards.[1] The State pays more than half of all local school expenditures, save those for buildings.

The differentiation is not complete, because the laws for the School are made by the State Legislature, not by the State Board of Education, though indeed many minor rules and regulations are made by the latter body. All taxes are provided for, though not entirely determined in amount, by the State Legislature. A considerable degree of autonomy is vested in local boards of education as to rules and regulations. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, however, is nominated by the Governor, and confirmed by the Senate of the State Legislature. Since he must hold a State certificate to teach, he belongs educationally to the School, though politically to the State.

The legislation for the School begins with the Constitutional Convention, proceeds through the Legislature, the State Board of Education, if any, and the County Board of Education, if any, and ends with the Municipal Board of Education. This legislation is of exceeding importance, especially that by the first three bodies. Here many vital questions are settled, if not answered.

[1] Chancellor, *Our Schools*, note, p. 41.

It is legislation usually by men not only incompetent, but also indifferent. Many State and municipal legislators are disloyal to the public welfare, and a few are malicious.

1. Legislation that makes education compulsory from six to twelve years of age betrays education, because these are not the most important years for education.

2. Legislation that makes education compulsory only in name, but provides all manner of ways of escape and fails to provide economic support for the children of dire poverty, is false to democracy.

3. Legislation that provides fine and broad curricula with or without ample and appropriate buildings and apparatus, but fails to provide a sufficient number of happily circumstanced and efficient teachers, is incompetent.

4. Legislation that lays heavy burdens upon teachers, but provides for them only ignorant, disloyal, and dishonest controllers, as municipal board members, is malicious.

5. Legislation that by authorizing rigid contracts without release clauses, by forbidding married teachers to teach, and by similar restrictions of personal liberty, degrades what should be a profession into State helotage, is subversive of civilization.

6. Legislation that creates such an office as that of superintendent without prescribing the highest professional qualifications and assigning rights, privileges, and responsibilities, is such a mockery of education as grieves and alarms the intelligent patriot.

7. Legislation that promotes or even permits unsanitary, unhygienic school buildings, grounds, courses, exercises, programmes, or rules and regulations, and fails to make health the beginning and the end of education, is the modern offering up of the seed of mankind to Moloch.

All the possibilities of the improvement of education begin with legislation, for the constitutional convention of democracy is omnipotent. Private education, parochial education, and endowed education, as well as free common education, may well be improved by legislation.

As a stream cannot rise higher than its source, so education cannot rise higher than the legislation that initiates it. Law is the die by which all schooling must be cut. The trunk of a tree tapers from its roots up.

Briefly, so much as to legislation as an educational instrument. Second in importance is administration. The laws may be very good, but when badly executed or not executed at all, the educational conditions must be very bad. Under the same State laws, even under similar municipal regulations, one city may have excellent schools and another criminally poor schools. I mean criminally in the literal sense, that is, schools so poor as to defy the laws and to render their administrators liable to indictment and to conviction. With really bad laws, it is not possible to have good schools.

In order to have a good administration of good laws, it is necessary to have a good system and competent, efficient, and righteous administrative officers. The State laws limit but slightly the administration of private, endowed, and parochial schools. The noteworthy peculiarity of American State legislation is that it leaves the private school free to do almost anything that its administrators choose. While creating the vast public school system, it permits, one may even say encourages, the supplementing of this system by the establishment and conduct of other schools. In many States, so numerous and so correlated are the Catholic parochial schools that they constitute a system rivaling that of the State schools. The prevalence of private, endowed, and Episcopal, Catholic, Lutheran, and other parochial schools has alarmed some publicists, sociologists, and others to such an extent that they have proposed various interferences with their freedom in isolation from State control.

Among these interferences, accomplished in some States or at least proposed, are these : —

1. To require the employment only of properly qualified teachers, whose proficiency shall be known, perhaps even determined, by State educational inspectors.[1]

2. To enforce the compulsory attendance of boys and girls of so-called "school age" by the visitation of attendance ("truant") officers in private as well as in public schools.

3. To require instruction in certain subjects, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, hygiene, American history, by the inspection of State educational officers.

4. To enforce laws relating to ventilation, sanitation, hygiene, lighting, seating capacity, per capita of pupils to the teacher, gradation, graduation, and similar matters.

5. To permit the transfer of pupils to and from public schools only upon rules and by examinations of the State teachers.

6. To apportion State public funds to such private, endowed, or parochial schools as fully conform to State laws and regulations, and to close up others.

The State seriously questions the right of parents to place their children in schools of inferior quality, or of teachers to control and instruct them there. By the democratic State, we all live and die. By the quality of its people, it lives or dies, — whence proceeds the right of the democratic State to do what it will with its own. This is not mere theory. As matter of fact, the despotic, omnipotent, modern democratic State actually before our own eyes is doing what it will with our children, whom, be it known, plainly and to our sorrow, it often chooses to treat cheaply and meanly.[2]

In most States, the public schools constitute a system centralized in form, if not in fact, about a State Superintendent of Public Instruction and a State Board of Education. This officer and this board have more or

[1] Cf. Constitution of Texas and Statutes of Massachusetts.

[2] The plans and methods of good administration in private schools are too various and too complex to be discussed in these pages. Our main concern is with the public schools.

less executive control and legislative jurisdiction over the district schools. The State control of the schools in districts of the cities and towns is usually much less than that of the schools in the districts of the villages and strictly rural neighborhoods. In some States, the cities and towns possess charters, giving them distinctive rights and privileges, and isolating them from the general State system. Such charters in this age are survivals of elder ages when universities, guilds, and other societies, corporations, and institutions secured liberties by grants from imperial sovereigns or from feudal lords.

In general, through the State School system, State and School are paralleled and demarked by a political board of education and an educational hierarchical officer known as State, County, City, or Town superintendent or Village or Township principal. This paralleling of State and School indicates the differentiation of the School from the State and its integration as an equal social institution. Of course, it may be argued, as indeed it often has been, that the State adopted the ancient School and is transforming it in character. Or it may be argued that the schools, many and various, seeking homogeneousness and integrity, seized upon the State for support and have become a great social institution, essentially and unfortunately, perhaps irredeemably, parasitic. But the truth appears to be that the democratic State, seeking evolution into competent and just government, calculated to advance the welfare of mankind, discovered in the ancient schools an invaluable idea, that of the probability of education from the right formal discipline and instruction. Democracy then saw what was never before known in the world save by men of genius, — that education is the mode, the only mode, of continuous progress. Democracy saw in education part of the cause and all of the cure of civilization; saw, that is to say, that government of the people, by the people, for

the people can and will produce a happy civilization by means of true education and by no other means whatsoever. In this view, then, the School is as much the product of the democratic spirit as the State itself is. The history of education shows that since democracy took possession of the School, it has been born again, born into a larger life.

The business of the local board of education is fourfold.[1] It must raise in whole or in part the funds for buildings and maintenance by appeal either to town meeting or to city council or by direct levy upon property; sometimes it has very great, sometimes very limited, powers in respect to securing funds. It must expend such funds as it gets for permanent improvements or for current expenses. It must secure teachers, janitors, and other employees to operate its plant. And it must govern the schools. At a thousand points in this business, the local board may fall below the ideal of education as expressed in the State laws.

This local board is legislative, administrative, and judicial. It legislates when it prescribes rules and regulations to carry out State laws. It administers when it purchases sites and erects buildings. Through the teachers employed, the board administers theoretically at least, often really, even the education itself. It is judicial in that it decides all appeals from the actions of its appointees and employees.

The local superintendent is also an administrative, a legislative, and a judicial officer. Unless he has rights derived from qualifications prescribed by the laws of the State Legislature or from the rules and regulations of the State or County Board of Education, he is almost wholly subordinate to the municipal board of education.

[1] Where the board is merely tenant in buildings held by other boards, there the board of education is an intermediary for the School to the State.

He has, of course, the contractual and personal rights guaranteed by National and State Constitutions and a certain measure of rights due to public opinion, which fortunately, because it holds him rather than the board of education responsible for actual school conditions, is very apt to support him in controversies with that board.

In a city school system, there are usually from six to ten grades or ranks of the teaching force: first, the superintendent; second, the associate, assistant, or deputy superintendents; third, the general supervisors of special subjects, courses, or grades; fourth, the division or district superintendents; fifth, the principals of schools with or without annexes or branches, the high school principals outranking but not controlling the grammar (full elementary) school principals, and these outranking and sometimes controlling the intermediate and primary school principals; sixth, the vice or assistant principals, if any; seventh, the heads of departments within the schools, if any; eighth, first assistants; ninth, directors with one or more subordinates; and tenth, the class teachers, permanent, temporary, and substitute.

Such a system is essentially either hierarchical or feudal. Many varieties and forms are in actual existence or have been proposed. Sometimes the teachers have almost absolutely permanent tenure: their class-rooms are allodial possessions. Sometimes the system is a torso, with a superintendent in name but not in fact. Sometimes the reverse is true, when the board delegates to him all its powers, and he employs, discharges, transfers, elevates, and reduces all subordinates almost at his will.

State and County systems vary in organization and in administration so radically as not to permit a brief summary of fact. The principles in issue may, however, be discussed and evaluated. Over against State centralization stands local autonomy. Whatever may be our opinion as to which should prevail, we must agree that from Massachusetts to California the tendency in every

State, with no demonstrable exception, is toward greater control by the State and away from that by the municipality. Very complicated municipal systems of education sometimes result. On the side of the State, there may be State legislature and courts, county board of freeholders and courts, and municipal council, mayor, judges, and others in partial control; and on the side of the School, State board of education, State superintendent and staff, county board of education and superintendent, and municipal board of education and superintendent.

State centralization seems to develop such advantages as these: —

1. Assurance of local schools everywhere, reaching at least a minimum efficiency and maintained for at least a minimum term.

2. Assurance of at least a minimum education for every child.

3. Effective encouragement of progress and condemnation of retrogression in the weaker and more ignorant communities.

4. Such a measure of general uniformity as in our mobile population permits the pupil to go freely from a school in one community of the State to another, and facilitates his transfer outside of the State to a school elsewhere.

5. Establishment of a central office of education on guard at the State Capitol where sits the legislature with its vast powers over education, public and private.

Local autonomy seems to develop certain other advantages: —

1. Encouragement of the immediate personal interest and concern of parents and of other citizens in the education of the individual pupil.

2. Incitement of effort in those educational activities which are represented by parents' organizations, free evening and holiday lectures, artistic buildings and grounds, kindergartens, and physical training of one kind and another.

3. Appeals to various degrees of local pride: (*a*) excelling

every other community; (*b*) equaling the best communities elsewhere; (*c*) reaching at least the average.[1]

From the extreme local freedom of Pennsylvania to the extreme centralization of Louisiana is a long distance; but recent developments in States as far apart as New York and California seem to indicate a national conviction that the safety of democracy rests wholly upon education, and that this is too important to be intrusted to municipalities. Indeed, the conviction is spreading that the Nation itself should organize a central office of education and build up a School system as wide as its own boundaries.[2] Otherwise, the contrasts between the States in respect to intelligence, efficiency, and morality may become so great as to be a cause of sectional separations and antipathies. In particular, the establishment of great national universities, in the several regions of the country, with picked students on salaries and pledged to enter the government service as consuls, teachers,[3] clerks, scientists, after graduation, is advocated as a practical necessity. Similarly, to prevent the child-illiteracy and the child-slaughter due to child-labor carelessly or callously permitted in certain States, to insure the industrial training of all citizens, whatever their nationality, race, religion, or color, to encourage proficiency in the sciences and the arts, — metallurgy, forestry, engineering, agriculture, and all other useful occupations requiring skill, — and to diffuse generally a knowledge of the principles of morality in the common and the uncommon affairs and relations of life, national regulation and subsidizing of State school systems are

[1] Dutton, *Social Phases of Education*.

[2] Ashby, Address, Department of Superintendence, *Proceedings National Educational Association*, Chicago, February, 1907.

[3] To secure national appropriations for normal schools is the purpose of an important educational association, with members in all parts of the land.

urgently advocated. Of course, such a national system should be operated not by Congress, the national legislature controlling the national "State," but by a national board of education to be provided by the national constitution and to control the national "School." Undesirable, even disagreeable as such a development may seem to many, it appears to lie in the natural and, therefore, the inevitable course of events in a democracy, which is government according to human nature.[1]

Less important than school legislation, school administration nevertheless may ruin the best plans for education.

1. Administration that nullifies good legislation by employing too few agents or incompetent ones is treachery to childhood.

2. Administration that improperly evaluates the three absolute essentials of education, — teachers, apparatus, and buildings, — in the degree of its errors, retards or reverses the movement of society.

There are two aspects of this matter greatly misunderstood. In terms of the present economic régime, buildings and teachers are not commensurable. A complete thirty-room elementary schoolhouse costs, let us say, $250,000 to build and to equip properly and adequately, and requires forty-five teachers for its thousand pupils. The teachers should receive $100,000 annually. In most cities, a building of such a size would cost only $125,000 to build, and the money would be raised by an issue of four per cent thirty-year bonds. The building would be nearly worthless in thirty years unless repaired and renewed at a total cost, let us say, of $60,000. In thirty years, we have, therefore, a total cost of $335,000 for the building; that is, $11,167 annually. Of this amount, the $150,000 paid in interest was a concession to the spirit of the régime which desires to build up a class of money-lords; therefore, instead of paying as we go, we seize every

[1] A similar argument may be made for church and religion. This is, in no sense, a revival of the State-Church, but the exact contrary, — a church as wide as the State, but absolutely free from it. The extension of the principle to Business is obvious.

opportunity to postpone payment and to pay later in full with interest added. Besides the $11,167 annually for the building, we have been paying in cash, not by loan-proceeds, perhaps $20,000 annually for thirty-two or thirty-three teachers, and $2500 to $3000 for apparatus, books, stationery, and supplies.[1]

The other aspect of this matter is that unless the teachers are sufficiently numerous, competent, and industrious, — in other words, unless they have been selected with sufficient intelligence and conscientiousness and receive high enough salaries to command genuine talent, — from mere weight of the barbarism and ignorance congenital in each generation, the civilization in that particular community will relapse into a lower form.

3. Administration that employs its resources and agencies unwisely, whether by ill-directed or misdirected rules and regulations, or by unintelligent methods of enforcement or of execution, or by incompetent selection of subordinates, is sinful, if not also criminal. For the incompetent to secure or to accept office beyond their powers, while frequent enough, is none the less wicked, because the progress of society is at stake.

4. Administration that fears to advise any legislation or advises legislation unwisely is guilty of a social offense whose very magnitude saves it from the condemnation deserved.

In American education, administration is the weakest and worst spot. The best administration cannot immediately prevail over bad legislation, but it can recommend better legislation. Good school laws often fail utterly for want of good men to carry them out.

Two other topics remain, supervision and instruction as educational instruments. Good administration fails

[1] It is a striking commentary upon the complete unworldliness of most teachers, — and their consequent unfitness to fit boys and girls for the world of real affairs, — that only a few of them ever have the slightest notion as to the cost of the building in which they teach; or of the total or per capita wealth of their community; or even of the salaries of any other school employees.

unless carefully followed out and supervised. We hear, it is true, certain reactionaries who, seeing the truth that the one thing needful is to give the child a competent teacher, imagine that they may go directly to this end. They forget that, as a matter of history, it has been found necessary to establish this special complex system which they so decry. No doubt, without any legislation or administration or supervision, some children would have good teachers. At least for a time, were all our legislators, administrators, and supervisors to be done away, some parents would maintain private teachers.

In milder form, some critics urge that principals, supervisors, and board members should be clerks to execute the will of the teachers. It is no adequate reply that chaos might come again since each teacher would probably have a will of his own (or her own). Such individualism might tend to the discovery of genius among teachers and among pupils. But it is an adequate reply that society has the right to the largest service of the best teachers and that class-room instruction limits such service. The very first purpose of supervision is to discover genius and talent and to set these to larger tasks. The supervisor is simply a teacher of teachers in order that, if possible, every child shall certainly have competent instruction.

Good legislation may encourage but cannot insure good administration; this in turn may encourage but cannot insure good supervision. On the contrary, supervision, bad in quality, or insufficient in quantity, nullifies good administration and good legislation. When we reach instruction, the actual presence of the living, genuine teacher in the classroom of pupils, we come upon an enigma. Laws, administration, supervision may all be bad; and yet for a time in some spots in a school system, the instruction may be good. I repeat, for a time, in some spots. I may go a little farther and say that all

the time in some class-rooms or in others there is some good teaching. However bad the system, a few good teachers are bound, from time to time, to creep in. Of these few, here and there one will bear up for a year, for a decade, perhaps even for a lifetime, against all the poverty of resources, paucity of ideas, and pride of opinion of the worst State legislators, municipal board members, and city superintendents and principals. Why? Good teaching is entirely natural to some persons, a product of their character, disposition, scholarship. It bubbles out of them a sweet, strong stream of truth and wisdom. Such a spring cannot be filled up or dug out or polluted. It purifies all around it. Pupils, parents, citizens, protect the good teacher from oppression, and encourage him in his work not only by responding in their own characters, but also by social support and sympathy.

But the exceptional cases must not blind us to the general fact. This nation needs now for its eighty-five million people eight hundred and fifty thousand teachers, twice as many as it actually has. Nature and the School have not hitherto conspired to produce all teachers, "born to teach" and fitted to teach well against all odds. Perhaps in the ten teachers actually here, in the twenty really needed, one has the native gifts. The others must be carefully trained and informed, constantly encouraged, directed, and assisted, and generously supported in materials, buildings, and personal salaries. Supervision is the mode of raising and keeping up to a reasonable standard the many who are teachers by necessity and by special preparation. Not that the natural teacher does not need special preparation and even frequent counsel, but that he or she is always eager to progress. Such a teacher is always an advocate and upholder of competent supervision, and by that same token is apt to be a critic and denouncer of incompetent supervision.

1. Supervision that discourages good instruction is dangerous in proportion to its meddlesomeness. It often, perhaps usually, restrains in the teacher the very qualities desired in the child, — self-activity, range of effort and of interest, and self-reliance.

2. Supervision that "tithes mint, anise and cummin" and forgets "the weightier matters" is a nuisance and may be a danger.[1]

3. Supervision that does not understand its true relations to the making of laws, to administration, to teachers, to parents, to pupils, and to the general public prevents better supervision from doing its good work in the particular instance and is responsible for the slow acceptance of competent supervision as a present, insistent educational need.

Though often associated in current educational practice with special instruction, supervision is a very different matter. Giving lessons to pupils and giving lessons to teachers are very good exercises in preparation for supervision, which is typically seeing lessons given by teachers to pupils. Of course, supervision is a far larger matter than this only, but it centres upon this.[2]

It is the business of instruction to bring to the pupil information that he needs to know, is capable of learning, and may at the particular time learn without confusion of ideas; to supply this information in such a manner as thereby to develop his interests and his powers; to present to him truth and principle in forms

[1] Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel* xxiii, 23.

"If a man may lawfully prefer a known lesser good before a greater, and be justified because the lesser is a real good, then he may be feeding his horse though he knows that he should be saving the life of his child or neighbor, or quenching a fire in the city." Baxter, *Works*, vol. vi, p. 366.

[2] Chancellor, *Our Schools: Their Administration and Supervision*, chapters iv and vii. In general, one supervisor is needed for every ten teachers, and special supervisors are desired for all new incoming subjects and exercises.

of beauty so that he will desire yet more truth;[1] to destroy in him instincts and habits popularly known as "evil;" and to exercise, and thereby to develop, in him good instincts and habits. The business of instruction is, indeed, much more than this. The present book is but an epitome of some phases of the social function and individual opportunity of the teacher.

Instruction, considered only as an educational instrument, is the last process in the mechanics of education. As in the cases of legislation, of administration, and of supervision, what is good instruction may perhaps be best seen by a dogmatic presentation of bad or poor instruction.

1. Instruction that by methods of compulsion discourages spontaneity in any of its phases — origination, invention, interest, self-expression — defeats the very purpose of education, which is unfolding of powers.

2. Instruction that does not relate in psychological and physiological order courses, subjects, topics, details, incidentals, produces confusion and distress where clearness and delight are all-essential.[2]

3. Instruction that improperly evaluates in relation to the particular class, and so far as possible the particular child, the yearly, monthly, weekly, daily, hourly, and moment-by-moment studies, exercises, and recreations is incompetent in the degree and number of its errors.

4. Instruction that does not day by day advance the pupil in the organization of knowledge, in the arts of using it, in self-knowledge, and in self-control, — that does not day by day advance him in the faith that the world is a cosmos with a universal unity, and in the understanding that he ought to harmonize and unify himself as an integral, independent soul, free from the snares of the world, — fails in its mission.

[1] "The True is what man holds to be; the Beautiful, what he desires and holds ought to be; the Good, the choice and use of the proper means for passing from the True to the Beautiful." Davidson, *History of Education*, p. 16.

[2] "Education is a process not of accumulation, but of assimilation." Hughes, *The Making of Citizens*, p. 18.

5. Instruction that does not subordinate discipline and management to its own higher ends makes spirit subordinate to mechanism, which is disloyalty, ignorant or malicious, to the very nature of this Universe.

6. Instruction that exalts into ends the means of education — the school arts, information, drill, the recitation, discipline, books, laboratories, buildings — leads the School into a *cul de sac.*

Let us imitate in order to invent; reproduce in order to originate; learn words in order to know the things, the drama, the relations for which the words stand; examine forms in order to understand substance and meaning; observe facts in order to discover their causes and their effects; and let us remember all the while that the purpose, as Browning said, is to help the child and youth to "educe the man."

In all these matters of school legislation, administration, supervision, and instruction, there are certain considerations of a qualitative nature. In view of the vast pressure upon each social institution and upon each individual from contemporaneous affairs and people and from ancient traditions, it is not true in letter or in spirit that, provided education is maintained, the best legislation, administration, supervision, or instruction is the least, and that, therefore, the fewer laws and legislators, rules and administrators, methods and supervisors, books, exercises, and teachers, the better. Rather is it true that, because of this pressure, we need certain measures designed not primarily to improve education, but designed to defend education from external attack. Nevertheless so vast is the work to be done, the knowledge to be delivered to youth, the range of habits and insights to be acquired, and so slight, at best, are the individual powers of teacher and pupil, — who in every last analysis, whatever be the criteria, constitute the School, — that legislation, administration, supervision, and instruction should proceed with measures and men as direct, as clear, and as few as are absolutely necessary to get the work well done.

To specify by way of illustration.

1. A great body of State school laws by no means indicates a high quality of legislation. The mere mass is in itself an embarrassment.

2. Similarly, the local board of education that promulgates many rules and regulations probably has an actually worse school system than one that promulgates few. The very smallness of their number tends to the careful consideration of each item.

3. A State with a State board of education, a State board of examiners, and various other State boards, all composed of laymen, and each board assigned to some particular State school, has diffused responsibility too widely. All these amateurs will have so little experience as never to become even semi-professional.[1]

4. Similarly, a State with many county superintendents rather than a few State inspectors will suffer because the supply of really fine administrators is always small.

5. A large local board of education — any number over seven members, the more than seven the worse — by no means indicates a sufficiency of competent thought given by the representatives of the public or by the delegates of the mayor to the problems of the schools.[2] It is true that an able, honest, and courageous school superintendent can split and therefore control a large board more easily than a small one, — a fact that makes the large corrupt board less dangerous than a small corrupt one, — but this truth constitutes an additional argument against the large board because such efforts by the superintendent consume time and energy that it

[1] After a year's experience as a board member, in a certain city, the amateur "corrected" an opinion of the city superintendent, saying, "I have looked carefully into this matter; in fact, I spent an evening in consultation with So-and-So [another amateur]; and I am quite as competent as you to decide the principles involved." To which the superintendent replied, "I will not express any doubt as to the superior value of your opinion and that of So-and-So; but I venture to suggest that you will find it rather hard to persuade the people of this city to prefer your opinion to mine."

[2] Where the board of education does not construct and repair the school buildings, the number of members should never exceed three.

should be possible for him to devote to directly educational work. The compact, small, corrupt board that cannot be made respectable by the corrections of a school superintendent also cannot avoid public responsibility for its acts and failures to act. In America, whether the small corrupt board is appointive or elective, it can seldom last long. As a matter of fact, small boards are almost always of a much higher average quality of character, intelligence, and efficiency than the large boards. Mere size invites graft, pull, influence, chicanery, and oratory, and deceives the public. Moreover, the board of many members, each desiring something to do or to get, inevitably trespasses upon the domain of the educational staff.

6. Let us beware of the seducing power over the imagination of large numbers, such as large expenditures per capita of pupils, large number of teachers per pupil, large investments in school buildings per capita of pupils, great variety of courses and of enterprises. The presumption, and the presumption only, is in favor of the large numbers. The cost per capita in a city may rise in three decades fifty or a hundred per cent, and yet the actual schooling be worse. The teachers may be drawn from inferior social classes, principals and superintendents may be mere educational mechanics, textbooks may be unwisely, even corruptly chosen, marking, grading, and promotion may have become purely a mathematical routine, and the daily programme a mere concatenation, badly proportioned at that.

It would appear from the various foregoing considerations that, in the formal system of education, the chief difficulty in the proper constitution and correlation of these educational instruments — legislation, administration, supervision, and instruction — arises invariably from the activity and authority of the layman, of the educational amateur, and of the semi-professional. Such persons as individuals should have absolutely no political or legal or other rights save the financial in education,[1]

[1] And then only as the delegates of the people, as representatives, not as individuals.

for they certainly have none in sound morals. To say this is not to challenge democracy ; on the contrary, it is to assert the only democracy historically and philosophically right, the democracy of general society. To employ as a teacher for a class of children one who is not professionally equipped as a teacher, and formally recognized as such by the best teachers, is not democracy, but sheer, perverting tyranny. To empower ten, or twenty laymen, who claim to be nothing more, to select and employ teachers, to establish courses of study, to make rules and regulations, in short, to conduct education, is not democracy but mind-slaughter, tempered by the protests of educators and of parents. As an institution, education is essentially, and therefore necessarily, an hierarchy. The democracy of society should control education not by wanton interferences at any and every point from the State legislature to the kindergarten class, but solely as an institution, as it controls Property, Family, Church, and Business. The separation in America of Church and State, formally established in our Constitutions, must, of course, be upon a somewhat different line from that which is to separate State and School: but the separation must not be, therefore will not be, any the less complete.

PART THREE

THE EVIDENCES OF EDUCATION

Genius is formed in solitude, character in the stream of the world.
— GOETHE, *Torquato Tasso.*

CHAPTER XI

INTELLIGENCE

(*a*) OBSERVATION. (*b*) LITERACY

Concerning an educated individual we may fairly ask, — Can he see straight? Can he recognize a fact? Has he self-control? or do his passions run away with him? or untoward events daunt him? Does he continue to grow in power and in wisdom throughout life? — ELIOT, *More Money for the Public Schools*, p. 64.

When
We gloriously forget ourselves and plunge
Soul-forward, headlong, into a book's profound,
Impassioned for its beauty and salt of truth —
'T is then we get the right good from a book.
ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING, *Aurora Leigh*.

THAT all knowledge is derived from the senses was proved by Hume and interpreted by Kant in works that laid the foundations for modern metaphysics and psychology.[1] Modern educational theory, however, seems to have neglected to note the significance of this truth. Fortunately, educational practice, because in the English race it issues from tradition (which in origin is near to

[1] Hume: "The most lively thought is still inferior to the dullest sensation" (§ 2). "All belief of matter of fact or real existence is derived merely from some object present to the sense or memory" (§ 5). "But as to the causes of these general causes, — the ultimate causes of natural operations and phenomena, — these are totally shut up from human curiosity and enquiry" (§ 2). *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*.

Kant: "It may well be that experience is itself made up of two elements, one received through impressions of sense, and the other supplied from itself by our faculty of knowledge on occasion of those impressions" (*Critique of Pure Reason*, § 1). "Beyond the limits of experience, space and time have no meaning whatever, for they are only in the senses, and have no reality apart from them" (*Transcendental Analytic*, § 23). "The categories, as proceeding from understanding, contain the grounds of the possibility of any experience whatever" (*Op. cit. supra*, § 27).

common sense), has not entirely failed to incorporate in its methods and devices the logical conclusion. If all knowledge is derived from experience, which obviously is occasioned and conditioned by sensation, then education should develop accuracy, fullness, variety, keenness, — in short, truthfulness, — of the senses of the individual who is to be educated. Moreover, this truthfulness of the senses, this knowledge from experience, this nearness of the mind to the world, is the foundation of the entire structure of the soul, a foundation, therefore, dependent upon its own qualities for its solidity, its depth, and its extension.

In education, we have been too much wont to accept, unquestioned, whatever the senses have reported as being correct and complete; unquestioned, the ability of the body to develop these senses adequately without direction of the mind; unquestioned, the continued veracity of the senses irrespective of the mode of life to which in school, at home, and everywhere else, we may subject the body. When, therefore, the college professor of physical or natural science asserts that this boy or girl, entering his class after a dozen years of elementary and secondary schooling, cannot see an object truly, we have been surprised. And yet as in the case of so many other matters of surprise, the true surprise is that after such schooling and such other civilized environment of the pupil, we, the educators, should be surprised at this fact, for we do not found our education upon the only sure foundation of truthful sense-reporting. We have made two errors: first, we have taken truthful sense-reporting as a metaphysical matter, a necessary condition of a mind in the world, a thing of original certainty and not of empirical development; and, second, we have supposed that because savages in their natural lives learn to see, to hear, to smell, to taste, to feel accurately, so must also the civilized man, a *non sequitur*, a fallacy dangerous to the phys-

ical welfare of the race, a positive source of degeneration. We forget that the savage must have accurate senses or die; but because we see that the senses alone will not and cannot protect the civilized man, we neglect them almost entirely and rely upon food laws, police, books, and a thousand other assurances of civilized society, mostly on paper and not effective in reality, to protect child and man from death and other danger.

So utterly vain and superficial have we become in our consideration of the sensational life of man as to suppose that the special objective senses are the only senses of any value, small as their values are. But man has many senses beyond the "five." Probably every section of his skin, every region of his body, every psychosis and every neurosis, has a special sense-organ to record it, is indeed a special sense. Lucky folk are those who sense danger; fortunate folk those who sense the future; good folk those who sense the very desires of others; magnetic folk those who sense the dispositions of others.[1] The old notion that intelligence functions somewhere in the body is utterly inadequate to explain the observed phenomena of soul-life.[2]

In general, to be really intelligent we must be acquainted with the operations (1) of the special senses so called, of which in civilization vision is perhaps the most important, for we are now an eye-minded race; (2) of the general senses, of which temperature is now of great significance; (3) of the sympathetic nervous senses, the metabolism of which is of very great importance to a creature with a mind constantly draining its body of nervous energy; (4) of the organic senses, of which aeration

[1] Jastrow, Hall, Myers, Maeterlinck, Titchener, James, Hyslop, Aiken, Gould, Mitchell, and many other writers upon psychology and upon medicine, have opened up this subject, which is yet deep in the ore.

[2] Man has over 40,000 sense-organs and receives over 40,000 different kinds and degrees of sensations. Titchener, *Outlines of Psychology*, p. 67.

or blood-oxygenation is absolutely vital, as the statistics of tuberculosis warn us;[1] (5) of the life-currents, periodicities,[2] tides of will, of emotion, of revery; (6) of lethargy, of ecstasy, of fatigue, of all manner of warnings. Of all these, the watchword is not to suppress but to exercise or to inhibit, that we may know and understand the body by which and in which we live. It is a far more useful tool than most of us yet know. And we do not yet know what it really is.[3] We do not know how food supplies life, or what the matter in food or the energy in it really is. A whole new physiology is now coming to be.[4]

It is not, however, to the introspective or subjective aspects of this matter that the attention of educators should chiefly be directed, but to its objective and external aspects. The business of the soul is to look forth upon the world, to know it, and to include it. Intelligence begins with observation (which is not merely a matter of the eye); and intelligence, the power to bring together within one's self various facts, is the beginning of the life of the soul — as every observer of babies knows, whether a mother looking on with passionate love or a scientist looking on with dispassionate candor. The world awakens the spirit sleeping in the stranger, totally ignorant of this particular environment.

To acquire power of correct observation, certain courses

[1] Lankester, *Kingdom of Man*.

[2] Herein lie the fearful sex-problems of civilized humanity. Hall, *Adolescence*, chapter vii.

[3] "We cannot say just when the food we take becomes no longer a foreign substance to be acted upon, but part of the true physical self and endowed itself with assimilative power, nor can we say when tissues on the down road of decay cease to be the true physical self, any more than the psychologist can tell when the matter of apperception becomes an organ by it." Hall, *Adolescence*, p. 29.

[4] Atwood, Wiley, and many others. Le Dantic, *Nature and Origin of Life*. Collaterally, we are developing a new system of therapeutics, — to protect life by raising the body to yet higher vitality. Health is the true prophylactic against disease.

are necessary: first, to "sense" the thing; second, to compare it with other things; third, to separate it from other things (that is, to see its likeness and unlikeness); fourth, by recollection to reproduce it accurately in the imagination; fifth, to name it; and sixth, to recall it by its name or symbol. The baby begins the process; the old man dies before completing it with reference to more than a very, very small fraction of all the possible things to be "sensed" or observed in this world. Unfortunately, after the child comes to school, often he finds not assistance in this necessary physio-psychological enterprise, but every hindrance conceivable by direct human ingenuity or permissible to human blundering. It is this truth-finding talent that the school destroys. Fortunately, we have begun to recognize our mortal sin.

Let the child paint the flower that he sees.

Let him sing the rhythmic sound that he hears.

Let him carve the block that he feels.

Let him tell the event that of his own senses he knows.

Let him dramatize the actions that fill his imagination.

And every moment let us teach ourselves to observe, that we may no longer lead the child astray.

Let us encourage sheer truthfulness; it is the gold coin that purchases intelligence. The truth-finding boy has the first mortgage, warranty and quit-claim trust, upon success in the real world. The truth-finder discovers out in the world his true self, the larger person that he hopes to become, for truth is the proper home of the soul.

Indubitably, this establishment of sense-training as the basis of the conscious evolution of intelligence, this teaching that natural observer, the child, to observe systematically, rejecting illusions, errors, and accidents and seeking always the real, the right, and the usual or universal, this education of the knower, the scientist, in

man will be accomplished only by correcting the theory of education and reforming its methods and practices; because in this world despite appearances, in the world behind appearances, in the world of truth, as soon as truth is found, we obey. Sense-training, however, though the first educational end, is only a mediate process in the schooling of the child; and like every other mediate process of value, it serves not only general uses but certain particular uses, — in this case, it serves the particular use of leading directly to hearing, to reading, and to speaking words, that is, to literacy.

To say that thought is expressed in words and by means of words is to understate the truth, for thought and language are warp and woof of that knowledge with which in this world the soul clothes itself. Without words to receive and to hold one's ideas, one must forever repeat his thinking; and cannot go forward. Language is the structure by which man builds himself heavenward. He sustains himself at each higher stage by these crystalline formulas of thought which we call words.

The purpose of the School is to enlarge, to hasten, and to insure the development of personality, which is self-knowledge through world understanding, which is individuality clothed with wisdom regarding Nature and human nature, which is the social man, which is the self-respecting man intelligently at work in the world, which is the soul in the presence of God and the works of God, which is the man redeemed from the body,[1] from the past,[2] from hate of his neighbor,[3] from all particular fears

[1] "And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the passions and lusts." Paul, *Galatians* v, 24.

[2] The familiar doctrine of regeneration, as expressed in the story of Nicodemus. Jesus, John, *Gospel* iii, 1–21.

[3] The neighbor-philosophy of Christians so bitterly reviled by Schopenhauer, Hartmann, Nietzsche, and Weininger: perhaps best expressed in the parable of the "Good Samaritan." Jesus, Luke, *Gospel* x, 29–37.

and affections through one complete fear[1] and one absorbing love for the All-father.[2]

The word literate as applied to persons means able to recognize letters, that is, able to read. An illiterate cannot read and, of course, therefore cannot write. More broadly, we imply by illiteracy that the person cannot read and write with any accuracy or facility. But the term may properly be taken much more broadly. To speak affirmatively, he is literate who can read with understanding and who can write, adequately expressing himself thereby.

The first element in reading is to associate a sound with a sign. The *r* means the rolling sound. The *r* sounded recalls the *r* signed in either script or print. This association, which consists of a new sensation recalling and interpreting a former sensation, is the familiar "apperception" of modern psychology; but it is by no means so simple as it appears to be. No animals have ever been able to achieve it.[3] The next element in reading is to associate with something else the *r* sounded and signed; this something else may be an object of the senses or an abstract relation, itself difficult and complicated. Consider such words as oar (a visible thing), row (a visible action), are (a conjunctive relation), or (a disjunctive relation), and err (a mental act or quality). To be really literate, one must know all these matters. There is psychological substance here, sufficient for an entire book. In truth, just as no man has a complete life of the senses, so no one is completely literate, not even the polyglot, not even the philosopher. And on the side of literate expression, the failure to be complete is even greater, for

[1] "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." *Psalm* cxi, 10; *Proverbs* i, 7; ix, 10.

[2] "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God." Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel* xxii. 37.

[3] In the case of the German horse "Hans," considerably exploited in the periodical literature of 1905, later tests exploded the notion that he can read and compute. His perceptive powers are, however, marvelous.

while words once expressed are difficult to understand, it is far more difficult to put thought into them. In a certain aspect, therefore, with individuals it is simply the case of greater or less literacy and of less or greater illiteracy. In addition, there are the signal technical deficiencies of language in general and of every separate language in particular. The master of two languages can express himself more fully and acquaint himself more freely with the thoughts of others than can the master of one. To particularize, English needs forty-two different phonetic signs, while it has but twenty-six. Moreover, there are at least forty more simple and useful phonetic sounds known to other languages but unknown in English. And yet in respect to phonetic sounds, English is perhaps the broadest of all tongues, and no other language has more phonetic signs. Again, we have many unnecessary duplications of combinations of signs for sounds, as, for example, *qu* and *kw* (quart, awkward), *cks* and *x* (ducks, fox).[1]

The task, therefore, of acquiring literacy is twofold, involving reading and expression. And it resolves itself into three general stages: recognition and use of phonetic signs as such, converting them into sounds, together with converting sounds into signs, and association of signs and of sounds with ideas, broadly defined. We have an ill-considered notion that the first two stages belong to early childhood only; and even go so far as to say that we should study not only English, but the so-called "foreign languages," before ten years of age. But the foreign languages that we have in mind are those employing our own phonetic signs. Few would argue in

[1] There are many, many other difficulties with languages. One is that words do not ring true to the thought in them. Our English word love is too short and dull in tone. *Amor* and *liebe* are more beautiful, more suggestive of the content-meaning. Another difficulty is that sentences often blur and tangle thought. The literary artist is the one who most closely observes and most successfully overcomes these language-difficulties.

favor of studying Hebrew, or Sanskrit, or Chinese, or hieroglyphics and cuneiform in early childhood. In truth, we have crowded down upon childhood a very serious labor; and we do not give children sufficient credit for their success in mastering what is in fact the most difficult feat to be performed by the human mind, a feat in comparison with which art and music, war and business are indeed easy. Because story-telling, conversation, busy work, games under oral direction, and oral number eliminate one of the steps in this process, namely, the phonetic sign, they are coming to be regarded as the standard school work for children under eight years of age. The attempt to teach children of four and five to read and to write has been a conspicuous failure, and the attempt itself evidenced complete ignorance both of genetic physiology and of genetic psychology, which, of course, were practically unknown before 1875. Now, however, such ignorance on the part of educators is scarcely excusable.

Not only are these things true; but in our satisfaction with our extraordinary success in bringing nearly all children, even the mediocre, to phonetic literacy, we forget the third and vastly greater, the infinite, problem of perfect literacy through interpretation and expression. This is why our educational work with so many children over thirteen or fourteen years of age has been a total failure. Consider the fact that most boys and girls desire to leave school at these ages. Of a hundred boys and girls in school at eight years of age, we think that we do well to retain fifty at fifteen years of age and two at eighteen. Yet we know perfectly well that of the fifty children remaining after fifteen years of age at school, one half are present from parental compulsion of one kind or another. We know that the four-year high schools and academies do not contain any such numbers of children as do the four-year primary or even the four-year

grammar grade schools. We flatter ourselves that the children are forced out of school by economic necessity or that they leave because they are dull. And yet we see every year the sons and daughters of day laborers, male and female, and dependent orphans graduating from the same secondary schools and even from the colleges; and we see also very dull boys and girls surviving to win university degrees.

Let us face the situation and look into it. Let us note that dire poverty has not wholly blocked the way of boys and girls of talent, and that sheer dullness is, if not curable, at least remediable by right teaching, as the career of many a well-to-do boy under tutors has proven. American democracy is founded upon the theory that poverty is not a bar, but only a barrier, to opportunity. Many a President and Governor has surmounted that barrier. And European monarchy is founded upon the theory that mediocrity may be instructed in the ways of kingship. Otherwise, hereditary Kaisers and Kings would have disappeared long ago.

Still another feature of language requires consideration. It is a dilatory mode of expression and of interpretation. We think with a speed that would be incredible, were we not so familiar with the phenomenon. To speak and to write well, one must acquire the power to hold a thought in consciousness. By its natural constitution, not only is the mind dissipated, but exceedingly swift. We must remember that thought does not require language or even action. The makers of literature have constructed many a tale to display how much a man may experience in but a few seconds of time. We are all aware of the range and speed of our thought in the course of very brief moments of sleep, as in a day-dream, or of excitement, as in rescue from drowning. In a certain sense, language impedes thought. It sets the mind in harness for the drawing of loads. Talleyrand said cynically that

language is given to disguise thought. But no amount of language and no skill, however great, in language can prevent the observer from getting the truth by the more natural modes of expression of face and of voice, of gesture and of manner. By its direct appeal to the eye, a picture tells its story with almost the speed and range of thought itself, almost eliminating time as a factor in getting the truth. And by its direct appeal to the ear, using no mediate signs, a tune without words (and therefore free from definition and limitation) floods all the soul.

It is because of these considerations that we need in the formal system of education not only reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history, but also music, painting, drama, and travel.

But while language impedes thought as a process, it often marvelously condenses thought as a result. We can think in but a small, seemingly an infinitesimally small, part of the time required to find the words and to form the sentences that express our thinking. But when the thinking is ended and the words are chosen and arranged, we may have such a condensation of thought as amounts to a miracle and sets astir the wonder, the delight, the gratitude of many millions.[1] For hundreds of generations, men had been thinking hard in their desire to know the nature of God. Jesus answered their question, supplied the desire of their hearts, finished finally that inquiry when He declared the new synthesis, "God is love."

To us is left the finding of the explanation. Because "God is love," and can desire for man only good,[2] we should pray,

[1] ". . . jewels five-words-long,—
That on the stretch'd forefinger of all Time
Sparkle for ever."
Tennyson, *The Princess*, ii.

[2] Absolutely irrespective of the merits of the individual man. The rain comes upon the just and the unjust alike. Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel* v, 45.

"Not my will but Thine be done." Philosophy may inquire how the God of love can tolerate evil, or whether all evil is but good in the making, or whether evil is necessary in order that good may come to pass; but it can never again inquire whether God is part good, part evil, an infinite conflicting chaos, for love is cosmic, and it is more credible that there is no God than that He is double-minded and unstable in his ways. Ages of thought are crystallized in those three words, "God is love;" ages yet to come are forthshadowed in them.

In lesser matters, men have wrought with language wonders upon wonders. History, literature, philosophy, science employ the sentences of the masters as landmarks of progress. Revolutions and wars, poems and temples, constitutions and customs, these the masters of thought and of language have formulated in phrases that shall endure as long as the culture of man shall endure. They are bases and bulwarks for government, for religion, and for whatever else man requires in his unremitting effort to know and to realize himself as the "son of God." One very notable thing throughout the centuries has been the power of the really great men from Moses to Lincoln, from Buddha and Confucius to Mohammed and Luther, from Alexander to Bismarck, from Homer and Horace to Tennyson, Wordsworth, and Lowell, — in whatever craft their art consisted, — to find words big with meaning. The mastery of words, true literacy, seems almost an invariable condition of genius. It is now the vogue to consider a child who can pronounce his words a good reader. Many children, however, are graduated from grammar schools as having properly completed an elementary education before they can pronounce even the ordinary words of newspaper articles and of periodical literature.

We know well that such children have not yet acquired the capacity to understand modern civilization or to

express themselves in its terms. And yet this is by no means the worst of the situation. While one cannot understand a word that one cannot pronounce with at least some assurance of accuracy, one may pronounce with perfect accuracy many words that one does not understand. Moreover, one may understand every word in a sentence and yet not understand the sentence; every sentence in a paragraph, and yet not understand the paragraph; and so on to an entire book or to an entire literature.

When we do not understand words, we either ignore them or read into them false meanings. Similarly with sentences. So simple a sentence as "The truth shall make you free" has been read meaning "The truth of such-and-such a creed shall make you free from damnation" or "hell" or what not. In this book, there are many sentences that are incomprehensible to most persons because they are judgments upon notions, generalizations employing generalizing words, thoughts at their third or fourth power: for this reason, if for no other, few will read it, because we are seldom interested in what we do not quickly and easily understand. Most highly educated young men and women have gone on with their education partly from parental compulsion, partly from desire for the prestige of education, partly from hope of direct reward, and but little from pure desire to know and to be more.[1]

This matter of learning the meaning of words, their connotation and their denotation, and of learning the meaning of sentences has been almost entirely neglected in our elementary and secondary education. The college professor, generally scorned as a pedagogical ignoramus, is far more apt to take pains that his students shall understand the words and the argument of his subject than is either the grammar grade or the high school teacher.

[1] "Is not this a mystery of life?" Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, § 109.

These latter need to go to school to the primary and the collegiate teachers. It is in the grammar grades and in the high school that the wreck of youth, voyaging upon the ocean of culture, comes. The American history or the geography, the Latin grammar or the geometry is thrust into the hands of the pupil, and he is told to learn that for which he has no apperceiving basis, no interest, and no desire. The practice is as deplorable as it is familiar. No wonder that boys leave school, preferring "to go to work," or that girls leave school, preferring to help their mothers and to get ready for marriage.

This is what is meant by "over-enrichment" of the grammar school course and by "cramming" in the high school. Unfortunately, a vicious circle has been formed. Our teachers have pursued grammar school and high school studies, and have then been prepared directly for primary work by a year or two in municipal or State normal schools. When "promoted" to grammar grade work, they forget to apply the primary grade principle of preparing the minds of the pupils for the new material, and apply instead the old practice of requiring book-study.[1] The very books themselves, the courses of study, and the syllabi are all based on the theory that what words a child can pronounce he can understand; or the even worse theory that what words he should be able to pronounce he does understand.

What is the remedy? The kindergarten-and-primary and the university principle of studying and explaining words and sentences. It seems simple; but it is not regarded as obligatory because essential, and it will not be so regarded for many a year to come. But until it is

[1] Here is one point in the argument for college-trained teachers in the grammar grades. They have not learned methods and devices as such, but they have learned from their college teachers to reduce their topics to their elements, of which an important feature is the definition and exact use of words.

accepted, we shall continue to have a nation of men and of women who read the headlines of newspapers and books of fiction written in easy words and reciting familiar deeds and motives; in short, a nation really illiterate in respect to the greater matters of the social and the personal life.

Nearly all, certainly nine in ten, Americans of West or North European stocks are entirely capable of attaining before nineteen years of age the literacy of high school graduates. It is entirely a matter of careful hygiene, of good teaching, and of continuance at school because of those good conditions.

It is sometimes debated whether one may become truly efficient without being truly literate or literate without being efficient. An ugly conclusion seems permissible when one accepts the affirmatives of these propositions, for if so, why not train one class of persons as literates but the mass as workers? Whole civilizations have been founded upon the notion that the few were born to rule and the many to serve. But if there can be no genuine literacy without efficiency and no great efficiency without literacy, then for each person the one is as important as the other. Upon this analysis, literacy appears essentially and fundamentally a matter of observation and correct reporting, for to recognize a word, we must have seen it in all its literal elements and must recall it promptly and perfectly. Spelling is entirely a matter of truthfulness of seeing signs and hearing sounds, together with accuracy of recall.

Similarly, it has been debated whether there can be morality without efficiency, with an even uglier conclusion, for if one may be moral without being good to do something, then faith may be divorced from works,[1] and if one may be efficient and yet immoral, then in the working

[1] James, *Epistle* ii, 14–26.

world of men, virtue and vice are matters of indifference. Indeed, the saint becomes ridiculous, denying himself the crowning pleasure of a will freed from law and become absolute.[1]

We have seen that literacy is not the narrow matter of ability to pronounce words, but that it includes the far greater matters of understanding the thought in language and of expressing one's own thought. The conception, therefore, of literacy as a mode of education greatly lengthens the perspective of our thought. While we have not understood literacy, we have scarcely tried to understand the significance of efficiency and morality as also modes of education, not less important than literacy. We have said solemnly and almost universally that the illiterate is likely to be inefficient and immoral ; and yet we have not aimed at efficiency and morality as educational ends. Our reasons for the neglect of these three essentials, a generous literacy, a worth-while efficiency, and a complete morality, have been various. Once understood, these reasons will quickly show us how to dispose of the attendant difficulties. We have trusted to the individual to bring his word-recognizing literacy into the fruition of a thought-resolving literacy. This was safe enough in ages and conditions when the survival of the fittest among men involved the removal of the unfit by natural causes. In this age of towns and cities, the inner motivation of men is weak ; and millions are content to carry a primary-educated mind through life without further systematic and intentional development. The line of least resistance is easier for the citizen than for the savage. There is a parasitic sessilism in both rural and urban modern life that could never characterize any kind of primitive man.

[1] "All truth by itself is dead, — a corpse. It is alive only in the same way as my lungs are alive : to wit, — in the measure of my own vitality." Stirner (Byington, transl.), *The Ego and His Own*.

The failure of efficiency to appear at its full value as an ideal in education and in life is due to the inability of educators and other leaders of human thought and practice to shut themselves out of their view of the world. Shakespeares may forbid themselves, may prohibit their own personalities from appearing in the foregrounds of their thoughts; but the Shakespearean type is seldom displayed in the world. Men who are efficient find it difficult to understand why others are inefficient or, what is worse, why others do not even desire to be efficient. The workers of the world have supposed that any man "with brains" would desire to work; they have, therefore, set about equipping men "with brains," that is, with literacy, whereas in point of fact civilized man, weakly begotten and conceived, overcrowded, oversocialized, and underfed, is more apt to be short of will than of intelligence. We may as well recognize now as later that as book and pen are necessary for literacy, so food and tool are necessary for efficiency. In most cases, the weak and shifting will evidences the need of better blood and of persistent work.

The case of morality is somewhat different. We have neglected to teach this as an essential mode of education because most of our women teachers are mere girls who have not experienced the sterner realities of life, because most of our pupils are entirely too young to understand or appreciate the moral situations of men and women, because we have a too fond faith that one who attains the school virtues and the boy and girl virtues is therefore certain to attain the virtues of maturer life, and because we have fondly and foolishly supposed that an "educated" man — that is, one who can read, write, cipher, locate the chief cities of the world, tell the causes of the Revolutionary War, and draw a box in perspective — is certain to be moral unless he is a "genius." We have understood, of course, that Napoleon, Heine, Shelley,

Poe, Webster, and Jay Gould were "geniuses" and, therefore, exempt from this or that moral law. What we have refused to recognize, perhaps have been unable to see, is that the great majority of men are not observant and literate, are not efficient, are not moral. And we have not taken the trouble to inquire, first, whether there is any connection between intelligence, efficiency, and morality, and whether there is any essential relation between these desiderata and education. Let us, therefore, pursue this very inquiry.

We have seen what intelligence is, — the power to collect facts and to interpret them, — and that, in civilization, literacy is an essential condition of intelligence. And we have seen what literacy is, — the power to interpret the thought in language and to express a thought by language. What is efficiency? The power to make something out of other things, the power to put things forth, the power to do, — that is, creative, constructive, complete power. It is a power resident in the human creature wherever he is and however he is circumstanced; and he now happens to be characteristically in civilization, in society, among men. The modern efficient man must be a doer among many others, a laborer in society, a coworker, a coöperator. Izaak Walton, fisherman, would probably be inefficient in modern London, and Daniel Boone, hunter, in New York. The day of the efficient independent has long since gone by. At the present time, efficiency connotes society and civilization. In other words, personal efficiency in civilization is social efficiency.

By no amount of travel and sight-seeing can a tool-educated deaf mute boy be made as efficient as he can by a reasonable training in reading and writing. It is by language that one enspheres himself in humanity, orientates himself in civilization, measures the currents and eddies of society. One may be industrious without being

efficient. There is plenty of work without wages, plenty of opportunity for play, which is activity for its own sake, plenty of effort without result, plenty of trying without making. Efficiency is making something worth while. It has a concrete aspect as of things definite. Abstract efficiency, efficiency disembodied, is inconceivable. By definition, efficiency is economic in whole or in part. He who is efficient modifies the social structure or influences its welfare. He shoots at a mark and hits it. He is a man among men. He has a function and performs it. As for the inefficient, whether men or women, they are puppets, ciphers, "nobodies," parasites, paupers, "ne'er-do-weels," dependents.

Efficiency is the health of the will, inefficiency its disease. Contrary to what seems the popular and even the professional view, one is no more born efficient than one is born literate or, for that matter, moral. But while one may become literate without proceeding to become efficient, in civilization one may not become efficient without first being literate. To know how to do things that are worth while, one must first learn by conversation and by reading what things are worth while. Of course, language is the medium for acquiring this knowledge. The larger the literacy the larger is the possible efficiency, for one may not be socially efficient beyond the range of his knowledge. Intelligence is conditioned by literacy, and in turn conditions efficiency.

As every one knows, "well-read" men and women are sometimes useless. They may be only time-spenders, critics, bookworms, recluses. The mere literate is always in peril of lunacy, mind-wandering, intellectual dissipation. The remedy is to keep the child quite as much at observing, doing, and making as at reading and speaking; and there is no other remedy. Eye-training and ear-training must go hand in hand with muscle-training and body-building; and must not outrun them

far. Very likely, this means reducing the time given in school to reading, to history, and to geography; very likely, together with the insistence of a sound pedagogy that whatever is studied must be understood, this means a considerable reduction of the amount of reading, of history, and of geography to be acquired in the elementary school course; but the powers to observe and to do and skill in observing and in doing are cheaply bought at the price of losing some book-knowledge, too often essentially beyond the comprehension of the inefficient.

We must have teachers sufficiently self-alienated, sufficiently bred away from the school and familiar with the world, to understand what efficiency is, and why it is exactly as essential as intelligence. It is not enough, even in the teacher, to be intelligent; it is necessary also to be efficient. But the professional efficiency of the teacher is at best a narrow matter compared with the efficiency that should characterize the man or woman with work to do in the larger world outside of the school. We must have not only courses of study for the cultivation of the intellect, but also courses of exercises for the cultivation of the will and of the body, which is the instrument for realizing the will. These courses must be as systematic, as progressive, and as prominent as the so-called culture studies. The price of efficiency in time and in intensity of effort is quite as great as is the price of intelligence. For the complete education, the second cost must be added to the first.

Because the schools do not deliberately intend to teach efficiency is one reason why so many parents do not regret to see their children leave school "to go to work." A boy of fifteen should feel that he goes to work quite as much when he goes to school as when he goes to the mill or to the mine, to the farm or to the store, to the office or to the shop, to the railroad or to the factory. Of course, school work will never be primarily for the

purpose of earning money, though it is conceivable that in years to come some school products may be commercially valuable. There is no good reason why children and youth should be trained in economic parasitism. In fact, so to train them is to imperil their desire for economic independence through life. Of course, in the present economic régime, most children and some wives and mothers are economic parasites, forever reaping and never sowing. It is plain that economic parasitism in luxury even beyond comfort is the ideal of millions, male and female, in this age, and small wonder that it is. A score of reasons might be given. Of these, I cite but one, — the others belonging rather in works on economics or in novels. This reason is educational. Our children are being brought up by mothers and by women teachers, all of whom are necessarily consumers, but most of whom are apparently non-producers.[1] The fact of childhood tends to become the ideal of manhood and womanhood.

Last and highest is morality. It is sometimes said that the ignorant man may be moral; and even that the inefficient may be moral. We have presented to us the pathetic, appealing picture of the ignorant old woman, nodding over her Bible, as the type of morality. In life, it is not so. Feebleness and ignorance limit and obscure true morality. In a great civilization, morality is inevitably a complicated matter. To say this is not to say that the old lady who loves her Bible is not moral. She is probably moral within the limits of her intelligence and of her power to do good. But in the great world of action, where Nations are ruled, Syndicates are operated, Churches are organized, Schools are directed, Wars are waged, and Lands are peopled, every act should be not only wise and energetic but also righteous; and the

[1] This régime is temporary. The signs of its passing are all about us. Some signs are good, some are evil. The worst of them is the forcing of mothers and children into the mills to force out the fathers.

righteousness must be equal to the intelligence and the energy. Morality in great matters looks simple only to the simple-minded, who are not competent to determine them.

To illustrate: It is the verdict of history that the course pursued by Abraham Lincoln in regard to slavery during the War of Secession was the only righteous course; and yet at the time most moralists reprobated that course. The truth is that only an able, strong-willed man in the Presidency, with all the knowledge given by that vast office and with a sense of responsibility proportioned to that office, could know what was right and what was wrong in the direction of national affairs in that crisis. As every competent person now agrees, there was apparently not one other man in America at the time who could have brought the Union through that crisis, — an almost unanimous opinion valuable as testimony to the fact that morality is the apex of the pyramid, resting upon efficiency, which in turn rests upon intelligence.

We must clearly discriminate between the morality that lies within the range of a narrowly limited intelligence and within the strength of an incompletely efficient will, and the morality that is nearly or quite coterminous with a large intelligence and able to run *pari passu* with a quick and strong efficiency. We do not condemn as bad one who is as good as he knows how to be and as he has the energy to be. We are ready to forgive the ignorant and the feeble for their narrow and inactive morality. But it is our duty to ourselves and to society not to suppose, and not to speak and to act as though we supposed, that the morality of the dull and the weak is as noble and as valuable as the morality of the intelligent and the strong. A particular society soon perishes when the standard of morals of the majority is considered as the absolute standard for all. The excuse is sometimes offered by intelligent and vigorous men that their morality is as good as that of their neighbors. Those who offer

and those who accept that excuse forget that "unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."[1]

It is this excuse that is offered by the great spoliators of American economic life. Their apologists say: "They are simply doing what you and I would do, were we in their places." To assert this is to admit two postulates, and I for one will not admit either. The first postulate is that all men of ability and energy aspire to wealth and power, irrespective of the morality of the methods employed to attain them. The second is that what is done in a small way is equally good or innocent when done in a large way. The first makes inexplicable the poets, artists, physicians, journalists, professors, educators, and the thousand others who in each generation aspire neither to wealth nor to power, — inexplicable, that is, unless we are ready to agree that wealth and power are more to be desired than love and art, knowledge and consciousness of good service well done. The second denies the category of thought that "a change in quantity makes a change in quality."[2] To take a pin may be harmless; but to take a case of many packages of pins may well be crime.

The sociological view, therefore, of morality is apparently not the view of a certain familiar type of dogmatic theology. As God judges, the weak and ignorant man who does his best may be as good as the strong and intelligent man who does better. But society does and should value as the highest morality the life of one who, being wise and vigorous, conforms as closely as he may to the laws of social righteousness.

To be specific: A weak and ignorant man may know that his party is corrupt, that the candidates are incompetent or venal, and that the measures are generally bad; but he believes that the other party is worse and that at any rate party

[1] Jesus, Luke, *Gospel* xii, 48.

[2] The contrary is a familiar fallacy. Cf. Hibben, "Popular Fallacies," *North American Review*, April 19, 1907, pp. 832–38.

loyalty is an honorable personal characteristic, an evidence of being a good citizen. Another man, strong and intelligent, may know or believe all that the first one does; and, instead of voting the straight ticket, quietly scratch a name here and there, hoping partly to secure better men by the substitutions and partly to rebuke his party managers for poor or bad selections; but all the while he knows that he ought to have gone to the primaries and to have fought the "slate," and, if defeated, ought to have fought the whole party publicly, perhaps even to the extent of assisting in the election of independent candidates.

With the intelligent man who is no more than this, whatever is true is accepted. With the efficient-intelligent man, whatever is accepted truth is urgent. With the moral-efficient-intelligent man, whatever is urgent and accepted truth is mandatory, obligatory, imperative, necessary; and he obeys such truth as a duty.

The business of culture is to find and to save the truth. The business of education is to bring men to knowledge of the truth, to acceptance of it, and to obedience to it. The record of culture in its business is better than the record of education. In nearly every generation of civilized peoples, there have been a few men, if not many, who have understood the mission of culture and who have followed it. But though education has had apostles in various lands at particular periods, until the rise of representative democracy in government and of evolution in science, education, as theory and practice, science and art, has not had an integral, self-conscious existence, nor has it had general recognition either among the masses or among the wise. For want, therefore, of internal development and of unitary force and for want of public approval and support, education has scarcely undertaken all of its special business.

In books on education and in reports of superintendents, there will be found expositions of efficiency and of morality

as educational ends and appeals for their recognition ; but in these academic discussions, there have been two unfortunate tendencies. Of these, the first tendency has been to translate both morality and efficiency in terms of each other and to say, therefore, that the literate will perforce be efficient and moral. Such translation amounts to a sophistical exchange of definitions. The second tendency, essentially and logically contradictory to the first, yet frequently presented collaterally, has been to assert that literacy, efficiency, and morality have the same educational motives, but that they may not be completely achieved by the same educational methods. This leads to the employment of a few, as it were, "extra" methods to supplement the deficiencies of the standard methods for the achievement of literacy-efficiency-morality considered as one triune whole. But literacy-efficiency-morality are not a triune whole, of which the fields of each of the three are coterminous and therefore capable of being reached and occupied synchronously ; but the series should be intelligence-efficiency-morality, a progressive series, of which the first, a larger matter than literacy, is the pathway to the second ; and the second to the third ; while the third is the final, the real, and the necessary goal of elementary education.

It remains to show by what methods and of what materials intelligence, efficiency, and morality are constituted. The perils of any civilization may be enumerated as three. The first is that its society will have an insufficient number of intelligent men and women who comprehend its nature, purposes, and activities to preserve its culture without loss. Once net losses set in because of too general ignorance, the doom of that civilization is writ in the stars. The second peril is that its society will have an insufficient number of efficient men and women to perform skillfully its economic and cultural work and to preserve the per capita wealth and the average culture undiminished. Once the cultural tone is lowered and the per capita wealth decreased, the doom is writ, and it will come sooner than when only the

knowledge of culture is reduced. The third peril is that its society will contain an insufficient number of persons who exemplify in themselves and enforce in others the standard morals to preserve the cultural arts, the economic property, and the social habits unadulterated. Once cultural skill, private and public wealth per capita, and morals suffer injury to their essential nature, the doom of that civilization cometh fast. To increase intelligence is good; to develop efficiency is excellent; but to elevate morals is necessary. Increasing ignorance is ominous; declining efficiency is frightful; but lowering morality is fatal.

Omens, fears, prophecies of doom pass unheeded when the civilization is on the wane. The disposition of a community of people to be joyous despite warnings, and to be callous amid miseries, is evidence that these diseases of ignorance, indolence, and evil — the antithemes of intelligence, efficiency, and morality — have passed the stages of cure by normal process of internal change.[1]

Scholarship is a larger matter than "literary culture" or "knowledge of books" or "learning," all of which terms are but different modes of expressing the results of the study of print. It implies these results and also working efficiency and disciplined morality, for despite much loose thinking and much careless talking, we know that unless the learned man is industrious and moral, he will not long pass for a genuine scholar in the world of unlearned but nevertheless critical men. The common sense of the many has maintained the truth ignored by the particular few who upon attaining literacy have imagined their scholarship complete, for the many have looked upon the "mere scholar" scornfully, styling him

[1] It is precisely this general condition to-day in Russia that causes historically trained critics most anxiety.

"bookworm" or "unworldly" or idler, and have taken his opinions in "practical affairs" ("real life") as but babbling. Sometimes the many reproach the mere scholar (that is, one whose education has not gone beyond literacy) as negligent of opportunities; "dead to the world," they call him. Their remedy has been the advice "to go and do something," "to get to work," to stir about among men. They do not know that the real trouble with the literate who is that but not more is subjective, characteristic, and in adult life almost always incurable.

This real trouble may be stated in various ways. It is ignorance of the real world. It is literacy established upon very slight observation of natural things. It is lack of motor power. It is inhibition of the muscular or nervous reactions of thought. It is overdevelopment of reflection, which is, of course, impossible without some inhibition. It is knowing words but not things; knowing without doing, so much knowing that doing has become impossible without extraordinary stimulation.[1] It is loss of the sense of the practical. It is taking life as a day-dream. It is in substance and in spirit denial of reality. It is often stoicism. It is flabbiness or vacuity of will. And whatever it is, it is always stated popularly in terms of the next higher quality, — efficiency. But the popular statement is superficial, for the "mere literate" is always deficient also in the fundamental quality of power-to-observe. The literacy that does nothing, that leads to no results, that does not eventuate in acts, that is unobservant, inefficient, and unpractical, is in the opinion of the working world contemptible, for it is usually too indolent even to express itself beyond the passive manifestation of indolence in the character.

[1] "The true end of knowing is doing." Balliet, Address, Mass. Teachers' Asso., quoted by O'Shea, *Dynamic Factors in Education*, p. 61.

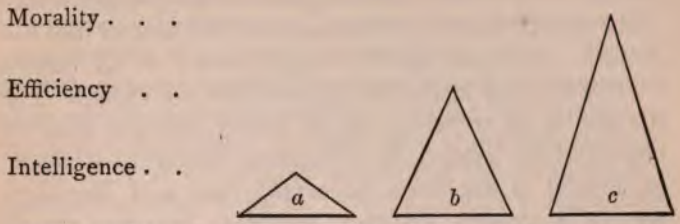
Mere literacy must be discriminated from that strange dualism occasionally manifested, when the knowledge gained by reading and perhaps even by conversation remains remote from action, and its relation to expression is never observed or at least never obeyed.

A man may "make his living" as a persistently traditional, narrow-visioned farmer, practicing neither rotation of crops nor intensive agriculture, never improving the breed of his cattle or painting his buildings, scorning modern machinery and business methods, and scarcely suspecting the applicability to his own affairs of the very knowledge that he has been acquiring in books and magazines read in hours when he should have been at work upon the farm. He is satisfied when the crops have paid his taxes, pew rent, and clothing bills and left him leisure to be literary. The discussion of politics is a matter of literacy; and this discussion has cost many a farmer the competence that the efficient secure for old age.

The perfect man would be as good as he is efficient, and as efficient as he is intelligent; and his intelligence would be adequate to the problem of his environment. His knowledge has been perfected by use; and the use has been governed by a kind heart. But, as we shall see later, this "kindness of heart" is no mere matter of whim or of occasion, but a wholeness of wisdom actuated by love for one's neighbors and limited by a just self-respect.

The beginning of this process of complete education must be upon principles capable of bringing the scholar to this goal of perfectness. Until we realize fully and clearly that, since we are all finite (and therefore certain in this earthly life to be imperfect even in old age after all our opportunities), our morality must always be less than our efficiency and our efficiency less than our intelligence, and that our intelligence is established upon our observation of reality and conditioned by our literacy; we shall not be able to see the true method of education.

Pyramids of different heights may be erected upon a given base. Pyramids of various slopes may be truncated at any height.



a. The intelligent man. *b.* The intelligent-efficient man.
c. The intelligent-efficient-moral man.

Not only is it true of man as a whole, an entity, an individual, that his morality cannot be greater than his efficiency, nor his efficiency greater than his intelligence, and that intelligence precedes and establishes the foundations of efficiency and that efficiency is the foundation of morality; but it is also true of every personal habit or quality (the force of morality) that it is the resultant of acts that are themselves resultants of intelligence. We see or feel or think; then act; last become.

Here rises the great problem of habit in education, a problem scarcely considered as yet by either educators or psychologists.[1] It is more than a problem: it is an entire

[1] I gave four years in a seminar of graduate students to the psychology of habit; and saw in the end that all the foundation work in physiological psychology and all the structural work in psychology proper as related to habit must yet be done.

The relations of habit to instinct; motive and habit; the physical foundations of habit (psychophysical parallelism); the inherited habits; habit as limitation to education; heredity and social progress; evolution and habit; the establishment and the overthrow of habit; innovations, reforms, revolutions; the conflicts of the virtues (the moral habits); the historical causes and processes of the vices (the so-called immoral habits); the evaluation of habits in education, in morals, in religion, in politics, and in economics, and of the fashions of society; the social milieu; the relation of habit to progress, personal and social; habit and free will;

mathematic, suggested here and there by a monograph or a chapter, but some day to be the subject of treatises and tomes. Morality is a summation or harmony of habits, a correlation between personal and social habits.

Articulate speech has transformed the animal into the human. Recorded speech, that greatest of all human inventions, has made the human into the citizen. The literate is he to whom or by whom thought may be conveyed by letters. In civilization, literature (thought in letters) is far more important than oral language, aurally perceived. Literacy, therefore, becomes almost synonymous with intelligence or knowledge. The actual amount and the quality of intelligence actually secured without the use of letters or phonetic sounds are almost negligible, though this should not be so. The exceptions at best no more than point out the rule. The principle of learning by reading is so familiar as almost to be ignored, — like the sky and the sun, which so few notice.

A few schools have recently adopted silent reading as a regular daily exercise. In truth, all reading is silent. The oral reading is mere repetition, second edition reproduction of the

the genius; the mediocre; the idiot; the criminal; the saint; the hero; the coward; the man of peace and the man of war; language; sex; nationality; race; religion; poverty; wealth; culture; character; custom, law, and political freedom; these are but a few of the thousand obvious topics of the psychology of habit.

It is a surprising fact that for so many ages, in so many nations, habit should have been a topic upon every tongue and that habits should have been so closely and frequently discussed, and that the act of thinking, feeling, willing should have formed the topic of a great new science, while habit, the second power of the act, should have been so uniformly subordinate, if noted at all. Cf. Morgan, *Habit and Instinct;* Radestock, *Habit in Education;* Kulpe, *Outlines of Psychology*, pp. 41 ff.; Baldwin, *Social and Ethical Interpretations;* vol. ii of *Mental Development*, pp. 35 f.; Bagley, *The Educative Process*, chapter vii; O'Shea, *Education as Adjustment;* Patten, *Heredity and Social Progress;* Andrews, "Habit," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1903, pp. 121–149; James, *Principles of Psychology*, vol. i, pp. 104–127; Johnson, "Practice and Habit," *Studies, Yale Psychological Laboratory*, vi, 1898, pp. 51–103.

real reading, which is a secret, personal, voiceless intellection. The familiar school reading aloud is elocution. The series of reading processes that bring the mind forward to a generous literacy seems to advance as follows: recognition of the literal sign as associated with a sound and recollection (or interpretation) of the sound as meaning something; by suppression of consciousness of the sound, immediate recognition of the sign as meaning something; relating the meanings of the signs in association; by suppression of the consciousness of the signs, recollecting or interpreting the relations immediately as some mode or form of thought; associating intelligently the recollections and interpretations present in consciousness; and, finally, critically thinking over or beyond these associations of memory and of reason and becoming thereby free in thought. Such is literacy.

A universal language, employing uniform, certain, and definite phonic signs, one only for each sound, and one sound only for each sign, and permitting no homonyms, is a literary desideratum, apparently far, far off, perhaps never to be realized.[1] This consideration introduces two of the four great questions of language, phonics and polyglottism, — the others being grammar and definition. We hear and think so much of spelling that we often fail to remember that in the Semitic, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, and Slavic languages the foundations are phonetic. Spelling, indeed, belongs rather to the field of efficiency than of literacy, for all the spelling requisite for literacy is enough to permit recognition of the sound in the word. This has been evidenced by a great array of American humorists whose "bizness," "tuf," "Geroosalem," and "crittur" have served to convey not only the sound but the entire thought and a little more. In that "little more," the humor has often consisted.

The literate must learn some sounds that name things, qualities, and acts, and others that suggest relations.

[1] Such a universal language is not to be confused with an international language, which is possible and practicable, if not probable. The prospects of *Esperanto* now look bright; but neither *Esperanto* nor *Volapük* nor *Idiom Neutral* is a truly phonetic speech.

Because we remember our primers, this seems much simpler than it is.

"The big cat is old and white" seems very easy to the literate adult mind. But consider it. The correct pronunciation of "the" before a consonant is a matter of rule and of practice. The word itself is technical and unnecessary, though perhaps advantageous. Greece had its several articles, Rome none. "Big" recalls space and relation, both of which ideas are quite vague to children. "Cat" is easy, — a mere name of an object, — and yet to read well one must recall the type, if not the particular object, the concept, if not the percept. "Is" also involves relation, expressing here a synthetic-analytic judgment, synthetic as to the union of cat and of age and whiteness, analytic as to the isolation of great age from time and of whiteness from general color. Oldness and whiteness are terms involving interpretation of experience. "And" is a term of relation by union.

A more difficult sentence reveals at once the essential language difficulty. "While the practical application of mere ideology brings the State into the acute crisis of political fever, mere empiricism produces chronic maladies, making the bright sword of justice rust, enfeebling the health of government, and weakening the moral vigor of society." [1] Here we have words whose phonic elements are difficult to discover and to articulate conventionally, — "practical," "ideology," "crisis," "empiricism," "chronic," "sword," "government," "society." "While" expresses a relation very difficult to comprehend. "State" is a name, it is true; and yet it is a name of singular difficulty to define or even to understand. "Empiricism," "justice," "moral;" these are words more familiar than "ideology," yet far more complex and troublesome. To read this sentence, one needs a long schooling and a large experience in life. I question whether there is in America a single youth under eighteen years of age who at sight can read the sentence and define every term. Not one in ten of our annual college graduates could read it intelligently upon Commence-

[1] Bluntschli, *Theory of the State* (Oxford translation), p. 6.

ment Day. The sentence expresses admirably the antithesis between revolution and bureaucracy, political theory and political practice, ideal government and government as it generally and really is. In truth, it requires "learning" and a political experience to understand the thought. The essential language-difficulty is at once revealed as being the discovery of the thought contained in the words colligated in sentences. To read is to find in the signs of language their thought-content.

The second question is the profitableness of polyglottism. Why should one who has learned or is learning one language endeavor to acquire another? We often talk of the desirability of one universal language. Is not, then, the acquisition of a second language entirely a utilitarian consideration? Two valid reasons may be given for knowing well at least two languages. He who knows but one imperfect language with greatest difficulty knows even that or himself as a thinker in that language.[1] He cannot know its philological history, the ancient connotations of its roots and suffixes and prefixes, the causes and tendencies of its grammar. He cannot rethink his thoughts in a strange form of words and by the contrast discover himself, his personality, in them. The reason why the whole value of self-alienation by the study of a foreign language is not familiar to every one, though it is familiar to some, is because so few ever really and completely acquire a second language.[2]

The second valid reason for the genuine acquisition of a second language is the definition of thought. The micrometer of the vernier upon the theodolite of the surveyor measures with minute accuracy by its method of comparing the same space divided into tenths and again into ninths, the difference being a hundredth. It locates with extreme precision the true zero, the central

[1] "A man who knows no foreign languages knows nothing of his own." Goethe, *Sayings in Prose.*

[2] Trench, *The Study of Words;* Hamerton, *The Intellectual Life.*

or focal point. So with words. One who can compare intelligently *speech* with its Latin synonym *lingua*, or *beautiful* with its Greek synonym καλός, or *time-spirit* with its German equivalent *Zeit-Geist*, or *good evening* with its Italian equivalent *buona sera*, or *God* with the *Jahveh* of the Hebrews, can enter upon the ideas involved and expressed, and he can compare their limits. Every word has its shades of meaning, its *nuances*. When synonymous words of different languages are compared, these shades of meaning become as clear as the corona of the sun in a total eclipse by the moon.

One word, as it were, eclipses the other, revealing by approach and collision its greater content or its finer beauty. In English, cordiality and hospitality are measurably synonymous; the difference is the real or practical kindness of the latter. Upon the vernier of thought, hospitality centres upon cordiality but overlaps it by practical expression. A cordial man may not be sufficiently generous to be hospitable, to take his friend into his home as a guest. But to be hospitable without being cordial is unthinkable. Yet he who has not learned Latin can only with great difficulty perceive this difference, which lies in *cors*, heart, and *hospes*, home-guest. Or let us compare *man* and *vir*; *skill* and *ars*; *good* and ἀγαθός. From each comparison, our ideas acquire sharper and fuller definition. The Greek *Christ* and the Aramaic *Jesus* are synonymous words that tell the meaning of a schism in Christendom sixteen hundred years old, — an apparently irreconcilable difference. Can Jesus save by his example? Has Christ saved by his death? Was the crucifixion a political blunder? Or was it a divinely appointed Atonement?

The two valid reasons for the study of a second language are definition of words and definition of ideas. Were not English itself a language colligated and derived from several other languages, were it not a composition of foreign and ancient languages, these two reasons would be for us even stronger than they are. The advan-

tages to a Japanese, a Chinese, a Hindoo, of the study of any European tongue are incalculably great.

The third great language question is grammar. To be literate, one must know the logic of speech. Of course, grammar turns upon the sentence, which is a synthetic judgment of ideas, a thought. The sentence may be a simple thought; simple thoughts combined in series, but too closely related for separation and isolation; or simple thoughts, colligated as superior or inferior. The function of grammar is to reveal the relations of the simple thoughts and to analyze the synthesis of ideas, composing each simple or pure thought.

A sentence is a speech.

Sentence is a Latin derivative, implying perception or feeling *via* the senses, that is, a sentence expresses a judgment upon ideas or percepts or sensations perceived. A sentence of the first power of thought is an apperception expressed in words.

Speech is a Teutonic derivative and has a curious shade of meaning, which is thunder or lightning. To speak is to talk like thunder-and-lightning, to roar, to fire away. Colloquial slang preserves this in a singular manner.

Sentence implies impression and reflection, — that all knowledge is from the senses: speech announces expression, emphasizing the individuality of man.

After each completed thought, speech pauses, and there is a period of rest at the end of the sentence.

Therefore, we capitalize the first word of each sentence (or complete speech) and block the last word with a dot or period. In this way, we punctuate or point out each rounded thought or completed series of closely related thoughts. All the internal punctuation of the sentence depends upon the same principle, which is, that the associations of thoughts in clauses and of ideas in phrases are marked by brief pauses and may, therefore, be appropriately indicated or pointed off by subordinate

marks. Punctuation does, indeed, exaggerate the pauses of thought; but it exaggerates in the interest not of the thinker, but of the follower of the thought. The reader, not the writer, compels the punctuating of ideas (words), of composed ideas (phrases), of simple thoughts (clauses), and of the entire sentence or speech.

At first thought, it may appear that the thinker who writes is more heavily handicapped by his readers than the thinker who speaks is handicapped by his auditors. But the contrary is true, for several reasons. The auditor must go forward *pari passu* with the speaker, whether or not he has the will and the power to follow. If he loses a link, the chain of the logic is broken. The reader can proceed at his own pace. The speaker must consider his own strength and endurance and his own fatigue-limits (or time-limit) and also those of the auditors. Emphasis by the voice has its limits; but emphasis by order of words, by iteration, by exposition has almost no limits. Visual learning is much younger in the race than auditory;[1] but visually we may compass a page at once, while aurally we may hear but a syllable at a time and retain scarcely ten words in one presentation in consciousness. But for the magic of the personal presence and agreeable voice of a few orators, written language, centuries ago, would have displaced spoken language save in brief conversation.

We call words, because of their uses, "parts of speech," meaning parts of the sentence, indispensable fractions of the integral unit, the sentence or complete judgment. The longer the sentence the less important any word, that is, any functional part. In itself, no word is a noun or a preposition or an adverb, but may be this or that by its use in the sentence, its part in the speech. We recognize the truth of this when we consider words that are capable of several uses. "He did well." "He is well." "The well was dug." "Well, I disagree." Of course, in these various uses, "well" is a different part of speech; though literally the same, it conveys a different idea because of its varying use. "To be or not to be, that is the

[1] Hall, *Adolescence: its Psychology*, chapter ix.

question." "Two men were there." "It is a long journey to fame." "Too great familiarity marks the insensitive man." Orally and aurally, these "to's" are the same. For convenience, we distinguish them somewhat for visual differentiation. Yet the "to" of "to be" is a very different part of speech from the "to" of "to fame," quite as different as is the "too" of "too great."

Of what values in the acquirement of literacy are the analysis of the simple, the compound, and the complex sentence; the recognition of parts of speech; and the determination of the rest of the grammar of the sentence? The answers appear when we recall once more what literacy is, — the power to interpret thought, to dig out all the meaning that the thinker was able to put into his sentences.

As the gardener collects his fruits and vegetables and packs them into boxes and crates, so the thinker collects his ideas and feelings and packs them into words and sentences. Grammar unpacks the thoughts and sets them upon the table for consumption. Grammar does even more; it selects the good ideas and the real thoughts and prepares them for the mind. Grammar rejects misshapen and deformed thoughts. To talk or to write "bad grammar" is evidence of imperfect or incorrect thinking.

The last language-question of importance is definition. The literate must learn phonics; the vocabulary of his own language, if possible, with or, if fate so wills, without the help of a foreign language; grammar; and the exact meaning, the definition, of a number of words adequate to his thought-capacity. Each is a higher stage than the preceding; each a more difficult process. It is comparatively easy to learn to recognize words and to associate their sounds and signs with ideas. It is a little harder to accumulate a considerable number of words in the memory for rapid recognition. Few persons know more than five thousand different words. It is

considerably harder to get out of words in sentences not only the ideas in the words, but the relations of the words and the thoughts in each sentence. But it is hardest of all to define accurately the words and the sentences; that is, to see clearly all, and no more than, the ideas and the thought.

Because of this failure to define, human testimony upon "hearsay" is absolutely rejected in all English and American courts of law. It is not that the memory only fails; the understanding, the interpretation, the definition also fails.[1] Many managers of great business enterprises, many school superintendents with thousands and tens of thousands with whom to deal, always reduce to writing every important order, direction, or explanation. Why? Because, as discussed in the text, visual learning far exceeds in accuracy and thoroughness (if not in immediate distinctness) auditory learning.[2]

Definition is the essence of logic. Without it, the most accurate syllogism becomes more or less fallacious. We may represent the process of thought as follows:—

Ideas	Words	Definitions	Collecting ideas
Relations	Words and	LOGIC	SCIENCE
Associations	phrases		
Thoughts	Sentences	Syllogisms	Judgments

Organizing sciences logically = PHILOSOPHY

The bearings of these considerations regarding literacy upon educational theory and practice may be expressed briefly and categorically without exposing the argument to attack as dogmatic. Since literacy is the power to pronounce words, to associate with them the proper meanings, to define accurately their contents, and to interpret them in their sentence-relations (that is, as thoughts synthesizing and relating ideas), the process of becoming literate is obvious. It is necessitated by the nature and conditions of literacy.

[1] Greenleaf, *On Evidence;* Reynolds, *ditto.*

[2] *Vide* the business magazine, *System*, issues of 1905 and 1906, *passim.*

1. Phonics must be perfectly acquired and frequently reviewed until their recognition becomes that "acquired habit" which Wellington pronounced "twice nature." This means phonics upon every occasion when new words are introduced, in short, from kindergarten through the university and the professional school.

2. A great abundance of reading is essential because the learner must see each important word in many lights and from many angles. But this reading must be carefully explained, that the ideas and thoughts be clear and organized. Confusion of words is almost as bad as ignorance of them.

3. Since the price of literacy is much reading with interest, it is essential that the reading be interesting, that it feed the curiosity, supply the needs as they arise, and arouse yet new demands.

4. A foreign language should be studied early. And if not a foreign language, then the philology of the English language must be thoroughly mastered, beginning in early grades. The literate can distinguish between synonyms.

5. Grammar is a necessity. Its true beginning is sentence-recognition and its next stage sentence-analysis. Grammar grows with one's own growth. It is a mental exercise, a logic, and as applied to English and to foreign languages may well occupy a dozen years of schooling.

6. Definition rises to the dignity of a regular place in the programme. "Words are things," as Byron said. They are reservoirs of power. They are tools, some of tremendous force, others of marvelous delicacy. They are as human as the flesh and bones of humanity. In every subject, difficult old words and all new words should be defined with unfailing faithfulness, with faith, indeed, that to know words is to enter into the literary inheritance, the thought, of the race.

To read is to summon before the mind out of the words pictures as real as life, and to relate these pictures as closely, as definitely, as logically as did the writer himself. It is to think his thoughts after him and, it may be, to see more in his thought than the writer himself

ever saw. For we see in the light of our own experiences, which may be many and varied; but we see only as clearly as our mind-sight has been trained to see. It is, therefore, useless to begin reading before we can observe and have observed truly; and useless to continue to read unless we continue to observe and to experience, constantly interpreting what we read by what we know and constantly translating what we know from experience into what we read in the records. Thus literacy illuminates the fields of our observation, and observation illuminates the fields of our reading. And observation and literacy by developing the intelligence prepare the soul for training to efficiency.

CHAPTER XII

EFFICIENCY

My father worketh hitherto, and I work. — JESUS, John, *Gospel* v, 17.

Better ignorance than knowledge that does not develop a motor side. — HALL, *Adolescence: its Psychology*, vol. i, p. 204.

> What hand and brain went ever paired?
> What heart alike conceived and dared?
> What act proved all its thought had been?
> What will but felt the fleshly screen?
>
> R. BROWNING, *The Last Ride Together.*

WHO does not admire the efficient man? The Oriental. He rules all the world save the empire of that efficient woman, Tsi An. But he is secretly despised from Cairo east to Canton. To the Occidental mind, efficiency far exceeds literacy: to the Oriental, efficiency seems ignoble, needless, wanton. Therefore, the Occident surpasses the Orient, marking a higher tide in human life. Therefore, the awakening Orient throws off its literary lethargy and once more seeks to do. For the Orient was not always asleep in philosophic revery, in traditional routinism, content with keeping life in the body. It gave birth to Genghis Khan and to Mohammed. The Orient has been fallow ground for a thousand years. Who knows what crops may not yet spring from that fertile soil? [1]

Mere doing is not efficiency. The doing must be intelligent, purposeful doing of things worth while. Therefore, in a high civilization, the greatest efficiency is the accomplishment of a generous intelligence, yet such intelligence is in itself not enough; it is merely the condition of efficiency. When doing passes beyond

[1] Cf. Little, *Intimate China;* Smith, *Village Characteristics;* Vámbéry, *Western Culture in Eastern Lands.*

knowledge (which in civilization is almost synonymous with literacy), it is at once in danger of being incompetent, valueless, even dangerous. The world resounds with waste effort, misdirected exertion, work without wages, capital lost in "bad" investments, unhappy reactions from "bad" acts. He who does too much is the advertiser of his own folly. The "too much" of action is evidence of too little knowledge.

As the literate man is tempted to be that and no more, and as his peril is reflection without fruition in useful activity, so the efficient man is tempted to be not that but a mere doer, because his peril is action without reflection upon the data of knowledge. Those women of the Western world who have achieved literacy are scarcely yet in danger of too great and of too many opportunities of action, but the men of this Western world who have achieved economic and political freedom are in very great and almost constant danger of activity beyond knowledge.

Nothing is more common in the United States, North, South, East, and West, than to find men in the high places of government, of religion, of business, of education, of culture, of war, — heads of families also, — who have no comprehension of their tasks, powers, opportunities, obligations.[1] They do daily many things, and they do a dangerous proportion of them wrong. The capitalist "turns down" a wise proposition and undertakes a foolish one. Sooner or later most properties are wasted utterly or pass into the hands of the competent. The tool, the grafter, the ignoramus sits in what should be the seat of the statesman, the wise lawgiver. Government becomes a department of business, and a badly managed department at that. Universities select ministers instead of educators, or flatterers of possible rich patrons instead of scholars, as their presidents; and cities select clerks instead of executive teachers as superintendents. Why? Because trustees and members of public governing boards act without intelligent knowledge. The relative incompetence of

[1] Münsterberg, *The Americans*, p. 8.

our national government in both peace and war is too familiar to need exposition here. Democracy is marvelously efficient upon the periphery of the individual initiative of the citizens, but ominously deficient at the governmental centres. In America we do enough ; but we do not do well enough. We have not learned that it is immoral to undertake what one has not the preparation and ability to perform.

Our specific inquiry here is how to achieve efficiency. It has frequently been said that health is a condition limiting efficiency. It has even been said that physical strength is such a condition. The truth will appear upon definition of the terms and upon summary of the facts. Health is haleness, holiness, wholeness. It implies perfection of the body as a working organism. This includes, of course, perfectness of the body as tool or comrade or producer of the mind. Human health is scarcely an end, but rather a means to complete living. Paradoxical though it may seem, health is rather the result of satisfaction with life than the cause of it. The mind conditions the body rather than the body the mind.[1]

What but mind fashions the embryo in the womb and gives the newborn infant structure, tissue, organs, functioning? What but mind gives sight to the eye, hearing to the ear, feeling to the flesh, taste, desire, pain, joy? Moreover, who cares to live when he cannot enjoy life, that is, when his mind is not in control of his body? Not he who knows that he can never recover control.

In the years 1905 and 1906, the presidents of the three largest life insurance companies of America were discredited by public revelations developed in an investigation by a committee of the New York State Legislature. These three men, though above sixty, were in robust health. Within a few months, one had died of "a complication of diseases," another was a mental wreck in a sanatorium, and the third a pitiful invalid traveling abroad for his health.

[1] *Per contra*, Clouston, *The Hygiene of Mind.*

Sickness and even death so often follow financial troubles, such as bankruptcy, insolvency, losses in speculation, as to attract no other comment than "What else could you expect?" One who is growing in fame or in wealth or in power is almost always improving in health. The increasing bodily vigor of men in the Presidency, the Governorships, the Mayoralties, is proverbial. Prosperity is a condition and almost an assurance of health.[1]

Poverty breeds disease not only because it causes overwork and underfeeding and because in confined quarters, foul air, noise, the body lacks sunlight, general exercise, and sleep, but also because it "takes the heart out of life." Successful men often work sixteen, even eighteen hours a day, neglect to eat regularly and properly, live in their offices or on the railroad, or about hotels, breaking nearly every "law of health," drinking too much alcoholic fluid and smoking too much tobacco; but all the while they remain vigorous and well.[2]

There is a current notion that to be healthy one must exercise the external muscles, working off waste tissue, getting fresh air, and creating an appetite. Over-exercise is easy and common. At a given time, the body has so much energy, and no more. To maintain itself, the body requires a certain minimum, varying of course with the external temperature, wind, and sun, and with the clothing. Any exercise whatever beyond internal processes, and such accessory muscular movements as encourage such processes, must come from a surplus above that minimum. Death is the result of persistence in over-exercise, — that is, of persistent fatigue.

Physicians sometimes fail to understand this principle. Expert neurologists, however, attending sane or insane neuras-

[1] James asserts that responsibility and power are "dynamogenic" in their physiological effects. Address, *American Psychological Association*, 1906.

[2] Curtis, *Nature and Health*, chapter xii.

thenics prostrated by complete exhaustion, allow their patients to lie, it may be for weeks at a time, without motion, apparently without breathing, in darkened rooms, as quiet as the tomb, waiting to see whether life, flickering upon surplus or reserve vitality, shall yet return to a flame.[1] Deaths by relapse in convalescence after disease has run its course are very common, and occur almost always for want of understanding the simple principle that the first energy developed by the human body is required for its own internal operations. Only the surplus can be devoted to "work."

The relation of health to efficiency is that a sense of efficiency conduces to health, and that health in turn supplies the surplus energy required by the effective effort. The beginning of health with man is in his mind, not in his body.[2]

The inefficient man is unhealthy; because he is inefficient, he is unhealthy. One of the major symptoms of inefficiency is inability to control the body; and in civilization it is absolutely necessary to control the body. The first essential in acquiring efficiency is mastery of the body: the second is mastery for some end. As one must "break" the colt before one drives him to market, so one must reduce the body to subjection before setting out to some particular accomplishment. This is what the inefficient never learn, or learn so imperfectly that their efforts, if made at all, break down in process. The world calls all the inefficient "weak-willed;" but often they are in the strictest sense strong-willed. Their will is not rationalized; it is sporadic, whimsical, capricious, physical, energetic, self-centred in its object but dissipated in its efforts, and therefore ineffective for ends and unfamiliar with means.

[1] Mitchell, *Nerve Paralysis, Neurasthenia, Doctor and Patient*, and other titles.

[2] The case of Elizabeth Barrett, who married Robert Browning, is in point.

The relation of mind to body determines this matter of physical health. In animals, it is only upon occasion that the body is controlled by the mind as a continuum, an identity, the simulacrum of personality; but in men, such control characterizes all the superior and, indeed, all but the distinctly inferior.[1] The human mind begins to acquire control in early infancy. The baby uses hands, feet, eyesight, hearing as tools and viaducts beyond the power of even mature and trained dogs, horses, and elephants, the most intelligent animals. A normal child of four has entire control of the periodicity and disposition of bodily refuse; can restrain laughter and, to an extent, tears; can curb anger and fear and simulate affection and delight; habitually walks upright; articulates speech; has regulated its appetite to three or four meals a day at fixed times; can listen to continuous narrative; to a degree, can summon recollection; and has acquired and can manifest a measure of social deportment. At fifteen years of age, the boy or girl is well "schooled." The body has become the victim of cultures that the mind may be victor in civilization. Biologically, the human condition at fifteen years of age is anomalous. The physical life has discontinued not a few of the customs of the biological continuum since protoplasm began. The marvel is not that so many boys and girls are ill, but that so many are well. But the marvel disappears when we consider that this whole discipline of the body by the mind, when conducted intelligently amid conditions and by means scientifically correct, is good for the health.[2] The marvel becomes, therefore, a reproach. At eighteen

[1] That it characterizes the inferior even more than the superior is the opinion of not a few psychologists. Cf. Gowen, "Pestilences and Other Epidemics," *American Journal of Psychology*, January, 1907.

[2] Regulated and regular exercise of the mind is as good, physiologically, for the body as it is for the brain, since it floods the controlling nerve tissue of the entire body with blood and energy. Clouston, *Hygiene of Mind*.

years of age, more or less, two classes of persons begin to regard health as of primary importance, those who have wrecked their bodies by the establishment of mental control and those who see in bodily health an end in itself, the highest mode of happiness. The first are the invalids, and the second the athletes.

This discussion omits from consideration those who have inherited ill-health from birth and those who, at the age of puberty, are inheriting it by atavism or by cross-heredity. The former, by definition, have never really known what health is, for the congenital invalid has never experienced εὐφόρια, well-bearing, joy in life, a sense of carrying life out gloriously. There are a few amazingly, extraordinarily "well" (vigorous) persons who seem almost to manifest the symptoms of a physical insanity, a paresis. "They carry all before them." They are not so much "magnetic" as overpowering. If tradition is correct, Charlemagne was such a person; William the Conqueror; Alexander the Great. Such men are occasionally successful in business far beyond their intellectual and moral deserts; because business is the modern form of private war.[1] (Not exactly, however, in the same sense as diplomacy is a modern form of public war.) Probably more persons are born capable of such exceeding health than are permitted by modern civilization to attain it.[2] The systematic school-going of the commercial middle-classes prevents this superb physical development, which appears most frequently among the well-reared rich and the industrious farmers and mechanics.

Certain significant features of the modern life of children appear to me notable and reprehensible, for the sufficient reason that they tend to prevent or delay normal

[1] They are the examples cited by the proponents of the new science and art of energetics, which seem to some nobler than ethics. Cf. Gulick, *The Efficient Life;* Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life.*

[2] I have met among the Negros and Mestizos a proportion of such persons far beyond that among the Caucasians, who in comparison with them seem physically victimized by centuries of civilization.

efficiency.[1] My postulates are that intelligence, efficiency, and morality need not be excessively disparate; that they may be developed in a zigzag of process or in a concatenation of stages; and that with most persons a generous intelligence is unattainable in the absence of some efficiency.

Merely for the sake of system, I note these features in the familiar order of their relations to the social institutions, — Property, Family, Church, State, Culture, Education, Occupation, Business, War.[2] Despite the importance of Property in this American civilization (where, indeed, it is less important than in England or in France), persons under twenty-one years of age have almost nothing to do with it. They are practically never the executive owners of wealth. The American legal theory is that the person under twenty-one is an infant, not able to walk amid vital matters, not able to talk about wealth and property. The purpose of this theory is to prevent the swindling of ignorant, weak-willed persons by scoundrels. The effect of it is to keep boys and girls ignorant and weak of will in relation to property. As curiosity is the motive of both observation and literacy, so ambition is the motive of efficiency; and ambition soon recognizes the relation of property to personal success. The protection of infants from swindlers never has been effective: the frauds of trustees are as notorious as are the follies of heirs just come of age. As for the trust-estates,

[1] The present abnormal conditions seem obstructive to the progress of mankind and characteristic of a necessary but transitional and temporary economic régime.

[2] The formalism of this system would seem more vital to Americans, were all of us to visit Central and Western Europe. In March, 1906, the German Kaiser denounced the opponents of the "great fundamental social institutions, the monarchy, property, and the army." For us, the monarchy is a figment of the imagination and the army a minor school. This seemed to be the issue between Münsterberg and his critics at the Peace Congress, New York, April, 1907.

those half-feudal creations of the modern economic régime, their sole result is to keep the heirs of wealth children throughout life, the pathetic victims of paternal pride and solicitude.

Poor or rich, the child should acquire and hold property. It is the price of self-respect, the condition of self-enlargement. As one who holds a cane in his hand has enlarged his physical periphery by his new ability to feel at a distance (the hand enlarges the life beyond the brain), so one who owns books, tools, furniture, a cow, a colt, a city lot, a savings-bank deposit, a share in a railroad company, has enlarged his mental horizon and has a sense of security, of "home" in the world. Moreover, his ambition to be something by getting something leads him to do something; and this doing for an end conduces to efficiency. Ten years of age is the characteristic period for the manifestation of the sense of *meum* and of *tuum*. Let the child acquire property in the light of his accumulating knowledge, permanently worth while property as well as temporary toys. Many things the children read about they can never own; but some of them their schools should own and use for them; and some few the children could and would own, were our social notions more sane.

The victim of a trust estate gave as his reason for marrying early: "Well, I knew that I could never own any property myself. My father saw to that. But at least I own a wife; she 's mine, and she does n't belong to the trustee." This same wife has taught, perhaps forced is not too strong a term, the man to save one half his annual income, so that he has acquired unreasonably late in life a notion of property.

The poor suffer too much from family communism. A little girl, who had been given two pennies, justified her expenditure of them for candy by saying: "If I had took them home, Pop would have taken them from me to buy tobacco or Maw to help get the Baby some shoes."

Much worse in modern life is our inability properly to utilize in the home the labor of our children. This is a great pity, and our schools should supplement the radical defect. Getting up, dressing, eating, going to school, acquiring literacy, playing, and going to bed do not constitute for children a normal or a rational life. They are deprived of the human right to do and to make useful things. In the modern home, of poverty, of competence, and of wealth, there is nothing worth while for the child to do. The kindergarten with its occupations and its busy work for the four-year-old comes into the life of the modern child as a great relief; but it lasts at most only a year or two. The art and manual training of the grades when immediately connected with the kindergarten tasks help in a measure, especially when objects of value are made. But at the best they do not help much.

Said a three-year-old child to its father, "I 've nothing to do." She harped on this for days, cried herself to sleep with the monotonous refrain, night after night. She had sickened of the inept nursery toys, the aimless paper-cutting, the watching of her sisters after school at their employments and the watching for their home-coming from school. Finally, her mother invented something worth while for her to do, and kept on inventing until the day for going to kindergarten at last arrived. The modern mother either buys her bread at the baker's or hires a servant to make it, — and the servant is too busy to allow children around. A house with two or three servants is a tomb for children. The boys and even the girls of well-to-do parents who keep horses in stables upon their own property are usually to be found there (for stables are favorite haunts for children because there is always something to do where there are animals); but city parents, for obvious ethical and social reasons, must order coachman or stableman to keep their children out of the stables and barns. Even country parents of means try to shut up their children into lives of "nothing to do."

The normal animal becomes partly self-supporting when very young. The human young are deprived of this means of growth and of enjoyment and of acquiring insight into life.

This is one of the significant features that gave meaning to the experimental elementary school of the Chicago School of Education under Dr. John Dewey. But it is not enough to have industrial education at school. Industrial activity at home is yet more important.[1]

The rapid disintegration of the home as a social force is due primarily to its loss of economic activities, and secondarily to its resultant inability to secure and to retain the affection of the children. In the days when children as well as adults worked to help keep the family alive, home meant something. Indeed, it meant almost everything. To-day it means almost nothing. Hence, among the poor we have desertions by husbands and fathers of the wives, mothers, and children, and among the rich divorces and adulteries, unknown or condoned. And we have also unfilial children, parents neglected in old age, brothers and sisters alienated and estranged. There may be no way, no means, in an age of machinery, whereby ever to restore to the home an integral and essential character. But if there be such a way or means, it must be by restoring economic activities to the home, — to the father, to the mother, and to the children. In the country or the village, the home may have both outdoor gardening and indoor industrial manufacture; in the city, it can have only the latter. Whether the factory-system will break up when electric power can be conveyed to any room, no one yet knows. If there be no way to restore the home, and if the race is to maintain its efficiency, the children must have the opportunities of industrial accomplishment at school. And the school must absorb many features now outside its customary

[1] Cf. Dopp, *Industrial Education.*

range and be integrated as the new, vast, portentous, independent, unique social institution.[1]

No man knows how much the School may yet arrogate to itself. Three hundred years ago no man dreamed that the State would arrogate to itself even a fraction of its present powers and influences. It is quite conceivable that the School will watch over childbirth and child-rearing, feed the children, house them in dormitories, teach them religion, educate them as now and far better than now, advise them in courtship, and instruct them in parentage and in home-making.[2] No one of these propositions is more unreasonable, of not one is the accomplishment more incredible than are the present efforts to teach the duties and powers of political citizenship and to train to skill in the affairs of business. In its schools, China emphasizes most the obligations to parents. Everything depends upon the point of view, as has been said ten thousand times before.

In short, either the home must be restored for the sake of children and of the mothers or else the school must be developed.[3]

In human history, when a proposed reform is the restoration of an institution that society has outgrown, we may be reasonably certain that the reform would be anachronistic,

[1] In 1905, there was founded in Illinois a new educational paper, *The School Century*. The title may be prophetic. We speak of the fifteenth century as the Italian century, of the sixteenth as the Spanish, of the seventeenth as the Dutch, of the eighteenth as the French, of the nineteenth as the English, and of the twentieth as the American. (Posterity may speak of the twenty-first as the German and of the twenty-second as the Russian or Japanese; who knows?) Similarly we speak of the thirteenth century as the Church century. We may speak of the nineteenth as the State century and of the twentieth as the School century.

[2] As indication of the tendency in this direction, see Harris, Address, Department of Superintendence, *Proceedings National Educational Association*, Chicago, 1907.

[3] Stetson-Gilman, *Woman and Economics;* Spargo, *The Cry of the Children;* Tyler, *The Physical Basis of Education.*

reactionary, and destructive of progress. But is the Home really outgrown, outworn, passé; and would its restoration be devolution? Why not make homestead land once more allodial, free of all tax, inalienable by owners or heirs, non-transferable even as pledge upon mortgage? Only upon such legal foundation can homes once more grow in the land.

As many men and women, perhaps most, go through life as proletarians, propertyless, so the multitudes of the essentially homeless, who as apartment or room tenants tramp from street to street, from city to city, from State to State, is annually increasing. Property and Home, as social institutions, are almost as meaningless to them as Paradise and Heaven. I know these things because I have experienced them through bitter years and decades as child and man. But the case of these multitudes is quite as bad in respect to the Church.

Religion used to be a delicate and a difficult subject. It has lost for many its delicacy because of its remoteness; and it has lost its difficulty because of its strangeness. Many persons either have had no religious experiences or have forgotten them. Such cannot understand or appreciate religion[1]—just as he who has had no property cannot understand or appreciate the love of property and the care for it, despising the rich and the thrifty, but for whom all the wealth of the world would soon be wasted away and civilization would disappear in barbarous poverty.[2]

The disintegration of the Church has, it is true, been accompanied by, perhaps has caused, a certain expansion of religion.[3] How far it has proceeded, few realize until they have investigated the matter historically. The Roman Catholic Church is, indeed, recovering to-day by indirection a measure of its former power in the State,

[1] Illingworth, *Personality, Human and Divine.*

[2] Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Economics.*

[3] Donald, *The Expansion of Religion.*

being a greater influence in politics than those outside of politics realize: but even this international Church is losing its grip upon men and upon children. When the Church lost its monastic and conventual estates and its political and ecclesiastical powers of taxation, it lost its economic functions and, therefore, declined in authority and prestige.[1] The Catholic Church, however, does generally hold a brief for its right to educate children. Now the children are the lifeblood of any religious organization, denomination, or sect; and the Protestant sects at least in America pay but little attention to, and care but little for, children. I speak in the relative terms of history. The evidences of this are the scant time devoted to children, — an hour of a Sunday, though even this is omitted by city churches during the summer vacation,[2] — and the elaborate process of "admission into the church." If, as I believe, the Church is an institution ordained by God for man, then the Church is universal, and every child is born into the Church when he is born into the world, as certainly as he is born into the State, as certainly as he should be understood to be born into the School, as certainly as he has the right to be born into the Home. This belief is for me the solvent of all the related questions of right and wrong, — of religion, of government, of education, of parentage and homestead rights, and, therefore, of atheisms and anarchies, of ignorance and indolence, of adultery, tenantry, and poverty.

[1] We see, for example, at Vienna and at Washington wonderful government buildings that display the political color of the modern world; and we forget that at Rome and at Constantinople are wonderful religion buildings that display not less conclusively the ecclesiastical color of the mediæval world. To-day, the State transcends the Church; to-morrow, Business may transcend State and Church, and establish at London and at New York wonderful commerce buildings to bear testimony to this transcendence. Cf. Patten, *Theory of Social Forces*.

[2] The pastor of a metropolitan church sent out, October 1, 1906, a circular that began: "Dear Friends, — It is the season when we resume the work of the Lord."

If the child is born into the Church, then from birth he has duties to the Church as well as rights from it. These duties are worship, service, contribution, loyalty, society; and these rights are instruction, tasks, benefits.[1] There are but few signs, however, that the so-called "leaders" of the churches have any efficiency in the presence of the fact that the multitudes no longer go to the Protestant churches and but a small proportion of them to the Catholic church. Most Americans are as churchless as they are essentially homeless and propertyless. Most American children go too infrequently to church and Sunday-school to derive therefrom any instruction in ethical efficiency. The whole scheme of church membership and admission thereto is in Protestant churches so antagonistic to the teaching of John, "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely,"[2] that but for the "exclusive club" features, most city and many country churches would long since have perished. In religion, something to do is essential to adult and to child. Protestantism supplies very little to do. Its inefficiency is notorious. And the children perish. If I have said almost nothing of the Sunday-school, it is because there is very little of good or very little of anything to say. The faith for want of works is moribund.

To many who know and love the Church, each new revival strikes upon the heart a fear like that which suffocates the fond watcher at the bedside of the dying. We build not cathedrals, but banks; and we fashion not creeds, but platforms. We are overthrowing the diseases of the body, while the soul shrivels, hardens, and dies.

The Church itself is dying for want of children whose hearts are devoted. In its weakness, it has no power to draw children to itself. The vicious circle of a maelstrom

[1] Blanchard, *The Twentieth Century Church in Early Christian Conditions.*

[2] *Revelation* xxii, 17.

of final destruction seems established; and the spell can be broken only from without. The worshiping church-goers are an ever-decreasing minority. And religion pure and unadorned, divine worship and humanitarian service, grow less and less in Sunday-school and mid-week prayer meeting. To the noble band who guard the sanctuary, all honor and all gratitude. The truth endures; and they are safe within its protection. But the custodian of the truth, the institution that manifests it, deprived of economic functions, is slowly wearing away from the tides and storms of the world.

In the present conditions of the Church, the child has no hope of acquiring efficiency by directed doing in its service. What then of the State?

The American democratic State is peculiarly a man's institution. In the Nation and in forty-one out of the forty-five States, women can hold no important offices and can exercise almost no political functions save the paying (or the giving-up) of taxes. They may here and there vote at school elections; but taken generally, they are nonentities in government. It is possible for a woman to be monarch of the British Empire, but not president of the American Republic. The influence of women in American political life is far less than in English or French political life.[1] The situation is this: save for a few equal suffragists, American women care little or nothing about government or politics. Even taxpaying women leave the affairs of government to men. The result is that the mothers have but little influence upon the political education of their sons, and none upon that of their daughters. This produces a singular condition in the instruction in our high schools, with their hundred girls for every forty boys and their five women teachers for every man teacher. Usually the history and the English, the Latin and the German are taught by women and

[1] Barrett, *Women and Democracy.*

studied by the girls for mental discipline or emotional experience, while the mathematics and the sciences (if any) fall to the other sex. American public secondary education has taken on a strangely introspective character. Almost the last notion of the school is that knowledge should eventuate in and direct action.

The children of a democracy have no conscious relation to government. Is the case different in aristocracy and monarchy? Most assuredly yes in the cases of some children; for in the aristocratic monarchy, the princes are reared from infancy to be rulers in the State, and the nobles, lords, knights, officials, are trained from infancy to be the executive agents of the political rulers. Nor has the education of the princes and of the lords been without avail: this, rather than hereditary excellence,[1] accounts for the unbroken line of the descendants of Cedric upon the throne of England and for the long centuries of Hapsburg sovereigns upon the Continent of Europe. Considered as government purely, and not as ethics, the best government in the world to-day is that of the Kaiser, as every competent observer knows; and the strength and the wisdom of that government may be discovered rather in the Hohenzollern dynasty than in the Reichstag.

In America, there is some slight insight into the principle involved in the European training of princes for rule and of lords for high service. We talk about the preparation of every future self-governing voter-sovereign, the democratic servant-ruler, for citizenship. But what we talk, the European nobles do. The education of princes does not end until it is completed, or until the tutors agree that further efforts at education will avail nothing. We are content to let the education of our boys end whenever our boys choose or the economic pressure determines. But, it will be replied, Europe

[1] *Per contra*, Woods, *Heredity in Royalty, passim*.

completely educates only a few; we try to educate all. To this, the answer is that Europe intends to educate every heir to thrones, to dukedoms, to baronies, in short every probable ruler, and bars all others out from the opportunities of political power. By its system of aristocracy, monarchical Europe saves from destruction by the masses those ideals and traditions of culture which the uncultured hold of little value or despise.[1]

Whatever may be the qualifications of the foregoing principle, whatever may be its relation to the indubitable fact that all power is essentially economic and material, and that such economic power has survived the transit of civilization[2] to America, the conclusions are the same, and they are inevitable. Every boy should be educated for citizenship, and his education should be continued until its completion, because citizen-sovereignty is certain for him.[3]

What, then, as to the American girl? If there is anything that is certain in human history, it is that the maternal heritage is as important to the child as the paternal. Every princely line in Europe has educated its women. As long as the American girl has no future in government, so long will the American mother be less well fitted than she should be to bear and to rear boys who shall be worthy of our democratic citizenship. At present American democracy with its enfranchised men

[1] Münsterberg, *The Americans*, chapter xxiii; cf. Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero-worship*.

[2] Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization*, *passim*.

[3] Except in the District of Columbia. The effect of confining citizens to the function of criticism can be understood only by residence in this unfortunate satrapy of Congress and the President. Every American has a right to the educational opportunities of the ballot. In this District, the lessons of a thousand years of social development have been brusquely thrust aside; and political serfdom has been boldly and probably irrevocably revived. The dry rot of empire sets in at the capital as the dry rot sets in at the hearts of forest timber. Perhaps, republican empire can endure no longer than can any other kind of empire.

and unfranchised women is like a biped trying to walk with one leg sound and the other shriveled.

The systematic private war of the feudal period and the systematic public war of the national period have been responsible for the genealogies *via* the male line and for the patronymic nomenclature. In yet older times, the children bore either the maternal name or no ancestral name at all. But, in war times, the fathers become social dictators by virtue of their superior fighting powers. In monogamic marriage, both parents could be identified, and both parental and filial pride dictated the dual name system, — one name personal, the other paternal. Recently the triple scheme — one name personal, the next maternal, and third paternal — has found some vogue. Biology knows no defense for paternal genealogies rather than ancestral pedigrees.

The proposition that girls should have no preparation for government because as women they are not to participate in it, save as the political subjects of their fathers, husbands, and sons, exactly squares with the proposition that women should not participate in government because they have no preparation for it. And both propositions reek with the false notions of our eccentric culture, — that the child is not equally the heir of the father and of the mother, of their bodies, and of their souls; that it is good for the woman and for the race that she should be but half educated; and that the minds of men are, in some mysterious way, of masculine descent and those of women of feminine descent, while these two ways are growing ever more and more divergent.

To some, the issue here raised may seem academic. It has, however, the most practical bearing upon the question of human efficiency, and has the most intense meaning for human morals. In relation to all matters of the State, — government, politics, legislation, judicature,

enforcement, international affairs, private property,— the girl who studies history, government, political science, or reads the daily papers, current magazines, novels of political life knows that however intelligent she may become, she can never be directly an actor in such affairs. Government is for her a blind alley. The curiosity that leads to intelligence must not awaken in her an ambition to be efficient, lest her will be broken. I shall recite no general argument for woman suffrage or for equal suffrage. I present only this, to my notion, unanswerable proposition: *No education can be complete that excludes the idea of efficiency in any important social institution.* It is unanswerable because it is a matter of definition, of postulate, of original premise. Of course, if the purpose of the Creator in maintaining the world is fulfilled though an entire sex be inefficient in respect to the political order, then I fail to conceive the Creator properly, and the nature of human society, this book is useless, and my argument is wasteful of time. A notion, however, persists that most of the competent, clear-headed, and large-hearted men of this civilization are in favor of the complete education of all, to the measure of their capacities.[1]

Because of this proposition that male and female children alike should be prepared for efficiency in government, the question arises as to which of two kinds of methods in education is the more likely to prepare them properly. It is argued by some and practiced by most that discipline in youth is the source of independence and of intelligent, efficient, and moral authority and obedience in manhood as democratic voter-ruler. It is argued by

[1] If, because woman is consecrated to the home, therefore she needs no knowledge of government, then, because man is devoted to business, why is he not relieved of the burden of government? Masculine democracy objects, "No," violently; but the Old World quietly puts queens on thrones and relegates ordinary men to economic work and nothing more.

most and practiced by few that self-government in youth leads to self-government in manhood and in womanhood. Neither teacher-rule nor pupil-government has the breadth of vision to see the real conditions to be met. In adult life, the man is to progress through many stages and is to sustain many relations, some superior, most subordinate, and perhaps none of them continuous and permanent. The objects of teacher-rule are two: obedience, that is, docile acceptance of authority, and knowledge of principles, that is, acquaintance with adult standards of action. The teacher instructs and reigns, the pupil hearkens and does. Unless on the merits of the various possible causes of action the pupil chooses to obey, there is for him no will-training in this system of teacher-tyranny, however enlightened the teacher may be. Neither fear nor affection trains the will. As a matter of fact, the pupils in the school governed absolutely by the teacher get most of this will-training through the voluntary choices exercised in their free relations with one another at recess time and out of school.

Those who argue in favor of pupil-government occupy different but scarcely larger ground. It is true that "like produces like;" and that, therefore, the child who sees in his teacher a "boss" will look for a "boss" to rule him in government, in religion, and in business throughout life. But we are apt to forget the other equally true result of the principle: the child who has governed himself and others in the light of a child's knowledge will be very apt to regard that knowledge as sufficient for the self-government of men. In real life, childish ignorance and independence in government are quite as common and as dangerous as slavish dependence. Just as teacher-rule fits girls to obey sullenly in monogamous marriage and to accept frivolously a male democratic government, so pupil-government brings boys to an arrogant assumption of duties of which they have

no adequate conception. Sometimes, the boy-victim of teacher-tyranny at school becomes by reaction the would-be man-tyrant in business or "boss" in politics. On the other hand, the pupil-governed school is a forcing-house of youthful politicians.

If the School should be continued upon its present lines with boys and girls in compulsory attendance until twenty-one years of age,[1] its graduates would be turned loose into the world in a very different condition from that which they now manifest after schooling until fourteen or fifteen years old, and then training (more or less) in domestic or factory or office life for the girls, and in factory or store or mine life for the boys, for seven years thereafter. These intervening years before coming of age and after school life is over are of signal importance in the actual preparation of young men for active and of young women for passive citizenship. But the School should not be continued upon its present lines. It must effect a practical reconciliation between teacher-despotism and pupil-democracy.

The relations of education to efficiency in the cultural arts are few and simple. Mere intelligence in music or in painting, in architecture or in agriculture, in engineering or in carpentry, in bricklaying or in mining, in book-keeping or in merchandising, in managing employees or in obeying employers, is but the vision of the promised land. It is useless to others for one to have a scientific knowledge of music or of literature or of steel-making or of house-building, but no power to express this knowledge in appropriate action. Such knowledge makes critics and mere critics.[2]

[1] Henderson, *Education and the Larger Life*, p. 368.

[2] A professional critic may be a person who has tried an art and failed in it, or one who has never had the courage to try, or one who has been denied the opportunity to try, or one who has succeeded so well that he dares not or cares not to try again; a critic is never a first-rate artist,

The arts may be considered as fine or industrial. The latter form a signally important division of the occupations of mankind. Two of the fine arts, music and painting, should be of major consideration in all education because of their exceeding value in the liberation and disciplining of the soul. Moreover, their relation to efficiency is so immediate and their appeal to the soul is made so early in life that they are available for training to do from the first days at school. But it costs money to secure teachers and apparatus for teaching any art. Consequently, the actual courses in school in music and in painting are mere skeletons. Music requires not only teachers who are both educators and musicians, but also musical instruments. Children should hear good music and learn to play good music upon piano, harp, violin, flute, or organ, and to sing both in chorus and solo. Similarly, painting requires not only teachers who are both educators and painters, but also the materials and the tools of the painting art. Recent educational progress in this fine art has not yet reached oil color, but it offers more promise than that in any other fine art. The general public can see the results and retain them more or less permanently and conspicuously.

What as to efficiency in education itself? Has this been either a social or a professional ideal? Is it not true that in the teeth of the fact that business men and social workers are calling for actors and doers, we are sending into the world boys and girls who are mere knowers and critics? Why do we not ourselves demand

engaged at the time in his proper business as an art producer. The critic has a possible function, that of the watch-dog for the public. Some critics who perform this function wisely deserve the gratitude of humanity. ("The critic must accept what is best in a poet and thus become his best encourager." Stedman, *Poets of America*, chapter vi.) There are many varieties of the critic; and every field of human activity is the witness of his exploits. But the critic and the creator will ever be at war, — often, be it confessed, in the same man.

more years for education and meanwhile set about making school work really educative?

It is perfectly true that in efficiency Americans have attained extraordinary excellence; but this is true only of the men and not of the women. American women are characteristically less efficient than the German, the French, or the Swiss.[1] Even the woman teacher who, in America, has secured a monopoly of elementary class teaching is successful rather in intelligence and in the sex-instinct to love children than in efficiency. The explanation of the efficiency of American men lies elsewhere than in their schooling.[2]

The boys of America get into their life-work, their industrial or commercial art, early; and with a peculiar national tradition. It is a wonderful country for men; or rather it was until the very last years of the nineteenth century. "Room at the top" and "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country" were famous sayings of Daniel Webster and of Horace Greeley. "America," said Emerson, "is another name for opportunity." Here the European peoples were debouching their vanguards in our valleys and upon our prairies and plains. Here were struggles, at first of Spanish, Dutch, English, and French; later, of Americans, English, Irish, Germans; and recently of Americans, Poles, Russian Jews, and Italians.[3] These struggles were intellectual, economic, social, political, ethical, and religious. They resulted in the breaking up of the national groups; and denationalization, in turn, produced individualization. The often excessive individualization that results is one of the largest factors in what the world calls American-

[1] I speak of the whole, not of any class, and of course not of individuals.

[2] Hughes, *The Making of Citizens;* Münsterberg, *The Americans.*

[3] Here also is going on that tremendous and perilous social development of the Caucasian and the Negro in juxtaposition.

ism. The individual, disregarding family traditions and social customs, seeks his own ends. His powers are liberated. His new and relatively free outlook upon the world suggests forthstepping into it toward some goal of personal desire. He strikes out for himself.

The resources planted by Nature in our country are very great. The exceeding individual activity of our people, reinforced by group-activities and ancestral, factional, and personal rivalries, and still further stimulated by climates of great heat extremes and in great variety, producing peoples of varying and in certain respects antagonistic temperaments, has resulted in scientific discoveries and in technical inventions surpassing those of any other nation in history. Not Nature, but man here, in the presence of these extraordinary opportunities, has made the United States the richest nation of all the world and of all the ages. This economic efficiency has not been the result of the common schools, but rather in spite of them. It has, indeed, erected special schools for its own maintenance and extension. The rise of scientific and technical schools in Germany has been the result of political ambitions and of a deliberate governmental policy: here it has been the result of economic ambitions, spontaneous, free. "Self-made" men, who often have had almost no schooling in the cultural sense, have founded, endowed, and popularized our schools for economic efficiency. Their purposes have included a desire to secure more and better and cheaper servants to carry out their far-flung plans of industrial warfare.

A fairly complete list of the occupations and trades now practiced in our country, some by multitudes, others by groups, would fill several pages. It would begin with the professions, proceed with the learned and the expert occupations, carry forward the arts, follow on with the routine industrial habitudes, involve every manner of business, and end in the simplest manual labor. Law,

medicine, ministry, education, engineering: consider their hundred forms and processes. Journalism, teaching, nursing, authorship, editing: these are but suggestions. Music, instrumental and vocal; the drama, the opera, vaudeville, the circus, painting, sculpture, landscape gardening, architecture: every term has many possible applications. Shoemaking, silk, woolen, and cotton textile manufacture, mining of iron, coal, copper, lead, gold, silver, metal-working, lumbering, cattle-raising, cotton- and rice-planting, farming, gardening, fruit-growing, brewing, distilling: every word speaks of thousands, yes, tens of thousands of workers. Banking, merchandising, organizing, superintending, and employing labor, transporting goods by ship and by train, real estate, stock-broking, pawnbroking, hotel-keeping, saloon-keeping, policing, cooking, sewing, telegraphing, typewriting, telephoning, detecting, guarding criminals: these are terms almost vague because of the varieties and numbers of persons involved. Ditch-digging, road-working, hod-carrying, teaming, sweeping, moving household goods, carrying letters, bearing messages, selling newspapers: thus another part of the list begins. Moreover, there is here scarcely a suggestion of the thousands of lawmakers, executives, judges, in government. And we must try to put out of our minds the underworld of vice, — the various "hells" whose workers and victims are constantly recruited from the boys and from the girls of a nation whose God seems to forsake them. Lastly, there is a kind of efficiency not to be ignored in our various parasites and paupers, the worlds of excessive luxury and of excessive poverty, — efficiency in holding on to life.

In early adolescence, the first symptoms of our amazing American efficiency appear. The boy pines to go to work. Many girls are similarly afflicted. They desire "goods," property of their own to spend or to consume or to keep. Sometimes, their motive is the same as that

of the boys, to make places for themselves in the world, but very often it is maternal, to help the younger children, or patriarchal, to help keep the family together by supporting in whole or in part the parents. Millions of the girls of America go from school to factory or business just as millions of the girls of Europe share in the labors of farm, dairy, and shop.

The turning of nearly all the boys and of a constantly increasing proportion of the girls at thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen years of age into the world of work for wages is so essentially historical, so distinctly hereditary, so thoroughly human that it appears appropriate. Moreover, it so certainly results in a narrow technical efficiency in work as to appear commendable. When the boy fails at school, the parent (and often the teacher also) cries, "Put him to work," on the theory that the factory or store is really a better school for the careless, inattentive, disorderly, perhaps truant boy, than the school of education.

It is a strange situation, worthy of an entire book by itself, this going to work, with mind unformed, in a civilization incredibly more complex than any hitherto known in the world. The economic effect upon the wages of adult men and women; the moral effect upon family life; the physical effects, personal and racial; the æsthetic and cultural effects: one does not like to contemplate these. Two aspects only, both of them educational, we may not neglect. The school wants the ability to prepare for economic efficiency. But for this grave defect, millions of boys and girls would continue at school several years longer than they do now. Moreover, the school itself suffers by the absence from the higher grades of these stronger-willed workers. For the truth of the matter is that while the boys and the girls of superior intelligence deliberately choose to remain at school, those of superior energy quit the leisurely life of study for the harder work

of the wage-world.[1] Poor as the schools are, this early maturity of will is usually a misfortune. By the time that he reaches twenty-five or thirty years of age, the man usually wakes up to the value of an education when he sees that those who remained at school longer than he are passing him in the race of life. By the time that he is fifty, he knows certainly that "education pays." There are, of course, apparent exceptions to this rule, but none of them is real. A genuine education necessarily increases the efficiency as well as the intelligence of the individual.

What has been said of occupation is quite as true of business narrowly defined as " the commercial pursuits." The trader in products, like the producer, — the bookkeeper, the salesman, the banker, the merchant, like the bricklayer, the iron-worker, the builder, and the employing manufacturer, — the man whose primary economic motive is competition, like the man whose primary motive is coöperation, — must find his preparation at the foot of the ladder after school days are over.

Lastly, war. So rich is America, so efficient are our people in the industries of peace, so essentially peaceable are we all, that we refuse to obey the maxims, " In time of peace prepare for war" and "The best way to avoid war is to be ready for it." We have no systems of military drill in our public schools, not even in our high schools.[2] And yet we have fought many wars, two of them essentially domestic and civil, the so-called " Revolution" and "Rebellion," both of them originating as insurrections against established government. In all of

[1] Webb, *Industrial Democracy*, part ii, chapters x and xi.

[2] There are a few cadet companies; but there is no universal drilling of boys for military service. Yet every great nation is great partly because of its volunteer soldiers. Where all the aristocrats are ready to do battle, there the nation need not fear its enemies. A mercenary army, like a corrupt Capital, like an hereditary class in power, displays to the discerning the dry rot of empire. Cf. Ruskin, " War," *Crown of Wild Olive*.

our wars, the regular army has been only the nucleus around which have gathered such militia as our Colonies and States could furnish and the volunteers. Militia and volunteers alike have been young men. Toward the close of the War of Secession, more than half of the soldiers of the United States were under twenty-one years of age. And yet we have always chosen to instruct our boys as though they were all certain to live the peaceful lives of women. The tale of history is the tale of wars; and war has often been nearest when it has seemed farthest away.[1] Most wars, domestic as well as international, come suddenly, like "the thief in the night."

As a matter of history, it may be gravely questioned whether he who is brought up in entire ignorance of drill, of arms, and of obedience and command is really educated for the common life of humanity. In 1860, most men said that the slave-labor question would be answered by the peaceful evolution of social life. In 1906, they are saying the same thing of the wage-labor question. Who really knows what time may yet bring forth?

This cursory view of the surface of American society for the sake of seeing whether or not our average boy or girl is educated for efficiency in its life may include only a brief survey of certain miscellaneous social relations. But one other people, the Chinese, have as many secret societies as have the Americans. Both China and America have governments that interfere but little in so-called personal and private affairs. The result is that freedom of assembly has developed numberless instances of secrecy of assembly. The meetings of lodges, councils, fraternities, sororities, clubs, unions, guilds, with and without political, religious, educational, and economic features, vastly exceed in number the formal meetings

[1] William Pitt, "Roll up that map: it will not be wanted these ten years." After Austerlitz. Stanhope, *Life of Pitt*, chapter xlii.

of governing bodies, political parties, churches, colleges, schools. Millions of American men and tens of thousands of American women belong not to one only but to many public and secret societies.[1] "Consciousness of kind" is a fundamental principle, perhaps the fundamental principle of sociology.[2] Despite this fact, the educators of young American democrats at school, often, it may be usually, try to prevent the formation of secret societies and sometimes of public societies. The superintendent of schools in a great city has pronounced secret societies undemocratic.[3] The boys' "gang" characterizes every neighborhood in America, urban, suburban, village, and rural; and it will always characterize American society so long as our government is neither a tyranny nor an aristocracy.[4] The proposition that "getting together" is dangerous is an inheritance from the days when it really was dangerous — to kings, to nobles, and to lords.

If men and women are to conduct lodges and clubs wisely and efficiently, the timely place in which to learn the sciences and the arts not only of parliamentary law but also of social control[5] is the school. Neither parents nor teachers have the right to deny to children "the peaceable assembly" secured to themselves by public opinion and by the Constitution.[6]

The theatre and the opera constitute a social institution as necessary as the court and the jail to civilized mankind (that is, creatures living in crowds and yet imaginative and aspiring, and, of course, fatigued). The school almost always and almost totally ignores the drama, — its appeal to the larger nature, its effort to

[1] The "joiner" is a well-recognized species of the American social man.

[2] Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 17.

[3] Superintendent E. G. Cooley, Chicago, special report, 1905.

[4] Puffer, "Boys' Gangs," *Pedagogical Seminary*, June, 1905.

[5] Ross, *Social Control*, chapter xiv.

[6] Amendments, Article I.

realize the good and evil of the human heart, its frivolity and its passionateness. The boy or girl, released or escaped from the school, suddenly finds in the theatre instruction in the comedy and in the tragedy of human life by impersonation with a skill so incredible to the childish mind that the acting is more real than living. Strange as it may seem, there is a panacea for this delusion of the school and factory children and street gamins, become, one and all, "gallery gods" in the city theatre, — and this panacea is the play at school.[1]

There is a recreation more valuable to the inhabitant of the city than the drama, and this is the summer vacation in the open country, in the woods, or by the sea. To be able to return to Nature is not a gift, but an education. In every year for the civic folk a month in the forest-camp or in the tent-on-the-beach! To know how to enjoy it! To know how to play in the world as God makes it! Why should not the school prepare us for this return to Paradise?

[1] I have been told many times by boys and girls sixteen to eighteen years of age, who left school at the close of the compulsory term, that their main object in so doing was "to get money to go to the theatre." In this exaggeration, there was no little truth. The movement for school dramatics for all ages of children is psychologically correct.

CHAPTER XIII

MORALITY

Plus on sais, plus on peut. — EDMOND ABOUT, *A B C du Travailleur*, p. 39.

Duty is not the child of a birth to-day or yesterday, but hath been, no man knoweth how long since. — SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*.

Our lives make a moral tradition for individual selves, as the life of mankind at large makes a moral tradition for the race. — GEORGE ELIOT, *Romola*, chapter xxxix.

Every man contains in himself the elements of all the rest of humanity. Some time or other to each must come the consciousness of this larger life. In accepting as his own the life of others, he becomes aware of a life in himself that has no limit and no end. — CARPENTER, *Civilization, its Cause and Cure*, pp. 126, 128.

No perfect man has ever walked this earth. Even the blessed Master was only sinless, not complete; as a person only innocent, not infinite. He never undertook the relations of husband and father, of captain of armies, or of artist, of engineer, or of employer, ruler, or lord of any kind in church, state, land, goods. As for the rest, whether hero-saints or men of genius, whatsoever their qualities, they all fail in perfect righteousness at the bar of the courts of even this world.

Cæsar was a grievous failure. He flooded the Western world with the light of his genius, in Spain and in France gave Europe its foundations, mapped out the Roman Empire, wrote laws and histories; but of his personal life he made nothing else or less than a botch. His very death was due to personal mannerisms and methods. Napoleon with perhaps equal genius flooded Europe with democracy, tearing away old traditions, and irrigating many a desert in the human spirit, but failed even more ignominiously[1] than Cæsar, — for his failure was not only in the private relations of life, but also in the

[1] Byron, *Childe Harold*, Canto iii. A truthful contemporaneous picture.

public. And Cromwell, perhaps the greatest of all Englishmen of action, was a dismal failure in the fundamental morality of human sympathy. Neither Washington nor Lincoln, neither Franklin nor Emerson, was altogether sound-to-the-core, — outwardly gracious, inwardly substantial, in public ready for all enterprises, in private wholly good. The roll of great and good women may be called: some were never wives and mothers, others knew nothing save religion, others despised art and society, and all failed in more ways than one, as all the finite must fail. We have but to compare great men with one another to see how partial in his excellence each one is and how serious in his deficiency. Consider that greatest of all American names in theology, Jonathan Edwards, and link with his name that of Benjamin Franklin. It is like a comparison of Dante with Shakespeare.[1] Or consider those two men of "universal genius," Michael Angelo and Goethe. How narrow and how shallow the universal genius seems to be! The devoted physician wrecks his health to tend the diseases of humanity, and dies, leaving a broken-hearted wife and orphan children, often poor, and sometimes penniless. A captain of industry revolutionizes the industry, enriches himself and perhaps many others, cheapening his products for the markets of half a world, and dies with never a good deed to his credit in religion or in government, in culture or in charity. Or a poet crystallizes in new forms the spirit of a great and different people, for he is a seer. But he has never lifted his hand to labor or sung one verse for righteousness. The pantheons of nations are indeed many; but there is none perfect therein, — no, not one!

So difficult is morality that, though quick to express judgments of individuals, most men and women refuse to discuss or even to consider its general themes. The moral judgment is more frequently exercised by us than

[1] Chancellor-Hewes, *The United States: A History*, vol. ii, p. 471.

any other. "Good" and "bad," and their equivalents, are the commonest words in the languages of men. "I don't like John or Mary," says one, to be asked in reply, "Why not?" and to answer, "Because he is mean or stingy or hateful or deceitful," or something else that is immoral. Morality becomes, therefore, a topic to be avoided in education, but invariably relied upon as an assured by-product. Is it possible to avoid this? Is it desirable to try to do so?

In no age have the consciences of the best men endorsed the morals of most. And yet human morality has improved. Is it possible to accelerate the rate of improvement by deliberate planning and working? If not, then all our criminal laws and sanctions, and all our religious activities of the past have availed nothing; and the progress actually achieved has been no greater than it would have been without them. Nay more: these may have actually retarded the moral advance by natural (that is, unreflecting) evolution. The common sense of mankind objects to such a conclusion. On the contrary, mankind is looking for social machinery adequate to undertake and to accomplish the task of universal betterment.[1]

In this task, three stages are presented. First, a sufficient number of sufficiently intelligent persons must be found to undertake wisely the direction of the enterprises of the various social institutions and of all the miscellaneous, heterogeneous, disassociated activities of mankind that we now group arbitrarily in the "sphere of liberty." Next, these consistent enterprises and these vigorous activities must be sufficiently correlated upon principles and by laws that they will work together for the good of mankind with common consent. To discover these principles and to frame these laws is the first business of the wise men: their second is to persuade the rest to accept

[1] Ward, *Psychic Factors in Civilization*, chapter xxxiv.

them. And, third, there must stir and there must be stirred in the social mind and in the body politic sufficient motives to set and to keep the entire machine at work. Obviously, each stage is higher and harder than the preceding.

The first requisite is clear intelligence. Ours is a civilization so vast that few may compass it, so intricate and so tortuous that few may follow its ways, so dark that few may see its facts. But the second test of individual and social preparation for the task is still more severe. Intelligence must add to itself effectiveness, the will to do, working-and-transforming power. The panorama displays millions of persons, whom the wise observer understands. Is he more than an observer? What has he the strength and the desire to do for them? There are workers enough among them, strong-willed men, who must often be shouldered aside or knocked down that truth and right may be cleared from their trampling feet. The man who would do work worth doing for his kind must have power to do it against every kind of opposition, including often that of those whom he would befriend.[1] And yet another qualification is set for the task. Intelligence and power of will must add to themselves morality; and what is this? No simple thing, but indeed the most complicated of all things, a composite of many lives, a reflex of ages shining in the soul, the spirit that knows and loves whatever promotes life and knows and hates whatever injures life. For this is the test. For this Jesus came.[2]

No age or land has ever known perfectly moral individuals; and as certainly no age or people has ever dis-

[1] "The fully developed man knows in every situation in life just exactly what he can do and therefore must do and does it." Caldwell, *Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance*, p. 201.

[2] Saleeby, *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1906, "The Testimony of Biology to Religion," and Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals, The Will to Live*, third essay.

played a perfectly moral society. Noble Athens had so many immoralities that it seems almost immoral: and yet if Athens was essentially immoral, then morality is a contradiction in terms. Athens loved life and, for many of its own citizens and for untold thousands since her great day, made life beautiful. In so far as Athens loved life, dignifying and ennobling it, she was moral. He dignifies life who makes it seem desirable, essentially worth while; and he ennobles it who makes of life an art. He whose life makes others aspire for equal life lives morally. And what is life? To see, to will, to feel ever more abundantly, for life is growth. Thus Athens magnified life, evolving great persons, — Plato, Sophocles, Phidias, Pericles, Aspasia.

Mother England, whose children have gone forth to America, Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand, has displayed so many immoralities as to seem almost immoral. Yet England has loved life, multiplying her children and sending them forth lusty and strong to possess the earth. She has evolved not only great persons, magnifying life, but very many such persons, multiplying lives.

From certain points of view, France and Italy, resting in the balance between the tides, seem immoral; and yet France made perfect for this modern age the industrial arts, and Italy made perfect the fine arts. Together, they have given to us much — it may be, most — of the glory and excellence of our culture. The immoral cannot achieve such frankness and beauty.

Nevertheless, in history the liberalizing of life and the increasing of the numbers of the living have often proceeded when the heart of society was unsound. A great tree grows with rot at its centre until storm overthrows it or it breaks of its own weight. So with societies of men. The rot of society we call immorality because it eats out the heart of life, which is morality.

God, the giver of life, is good. He who thinks not so

is a hater or a despiser of life. The moral man thinks highly of life, prizes it, desires to avoid death, which is the apparent, the earthly bound of life, and desires to avoid disease and accident, which limit life. He cares for his health, which increases life. Moreover, he loves the living, his fellow men, and in particular he loves children, whose lives are to endure after his own is terminated here; and he loves women, the bearers of life. Moreover, his love of life, of children, of women is such that he lives, works, wars, and dies for them; boldly, always, and as matter of course.

Therefore, the moral man loves God and fears Him, —loves because God gives and enlarges life, and fears because He visits sin with disease and death.

The precepts of morality grow more numerous and difficult as men grow in knowledge, character, and virtue, and as they increase in numbers and in variety of social relations.

There is a morality of the body. "Wash you, make you clean."[1] Dirt invites the microbes of disease, the dealers in pain and in death. Every great religion has emphasized the physiologic truth that cleanliness promotes immunity from disease. And why not? Did not man come up out of the clean sea scarcely an æon ago? The body has the right to be clean, to be cleaned as soon as dirt or soil forms or falls upon it.[2]

Yet we build schoolhouses in which dirty children must get dirtier and stay in their dirt, involving all in the general misfortune. And the city poor, through the day deprived of the cleansing of the free air of the fields and sky, at night languish at home without baths.

[1] *Isaiah* i, 16. It is the saying of the greatest of the Hebrew prophets. Many modern men have forgotten the foundations as given in the Mosaic Code.

[2] Curtis, *Nature and Health*, and Stinson, *The Right Life*, discuss these themes of a prescriptive morality.

Eating is a moral duty. Jesus established eating and drinking as the basis and form and structure of a religious sacrament.[1] The metabolism of food is miraculous. No scientist has yet disclosed this mystery. Eating good food, properly chewed, is life-getting. One must eat enough and often enough, not too much or too often; and one must fast in season.

Here poverty strikes with such cruelty that the pitiful challenge the goodness of an omnipotent God. Or is He not omnipotent, though perfectly good? I have seen too much of life, too many of the living, not to know how terrible and how common the lack of sufficient good food is. The starving children, the overworked and underfed mothers and fathers, the graves of the dead who died of innutrition and its diseases are forever before the city school superintendent.[2] Lack of proper food causes more drunkenness than all other causes combined: and drunkenness causes more crimes than all other causes combined. Poverty fills our jails and penitentiaries; and the prevention of poverty is precisely the most important and the most difficult task of modern statesmanship.

To sleep is to be moral. In sleep, one finds life. He who wakes out of sufficient sleep is new born. This, too, is miracle. Mechanical explanations analyze; but the secret is beyond all analysis. The length and the frequency of sleep must be such that the body is never wholly fatigued. Dirt, hunger, fatigue; these are the traitors that betray the body to its enemy, disease. The "new medicine" of the twentieth century is mainly

[1] "Unfortunately, while we argue the question of social responsibility against individual responsibility, of the paternal State against the democratic with its dogma of equality of opportunity, children are starving for want of food. The modern State cannot now, for its own sake, refuse to provide that necessary physical nourishment which alone can make the mental food palatable and nourishing." Hughes, *The Making of Citizens*, p. 24.

[2] Hunter, *Poverty*; Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children*; George, *Progress and Poverty*; Ghent, *Our Benevolent Feudalism*; Wallace, *This Wonderful Century*.

directed to vitalizing the blood, the life-currents, — along which the soul flashes ; and for which organs, tissues, and bones are but springs, channels, reservoirs, and filters. In vitalizing the blood, the first process is cleansing it in sleep.

To waken any one is a sin, but especially to waken a growing child.[1] To prevent sleep by noise or by disturbance, by excitement or by stimulant of whatsoever kind, alcohol or drug or narcotic, is fullness of sin ; it is malice against life. To go to bed early enough to insure sufficient time for sleep is a moral duty. Many a sick child and man has died because of violent awakening.

In a certain city, a sleepy physician took a strong drink to get himself awake to finish the duties of the day ; and the day was very long. He was in bed that night but two hours. His appetite for food slackened. Three days of increasing duties and of increasing alcoholic stimulants followed. A change in the weather brought on a chill ; still other drinks ; a cold night ride to visit a distant patient ; and pneumonia set in. Ten physicians and four nurses fought for him for two days, when death came. And a hospital had to secure a new chief-surgeon, a city a new mayor, and hundreds of homes a new family physician ; all for want of sleep.

American economic life, especially in factories and mines, upon railroads and railways, and American domestic life little heed the requirements of the body to rest in sleep. Therefore, the régime must pass. Into what it shall pass, no man can yet see. But human nature cannot and will not endure its present burdens. It is the ending of an era.

The human body is periodic[2] and regular in its processes. It needs a day in every seven for rest, and benefits by two days, one of rest, one of change. The body is not a machine, but an organism. On the seventh day,

[1] Curtis, *Nature and Health*, p. 297.

[2] This periodicity is of day and night, of weeks, of moon-months, of seasons, and of terms of years. Cf. Hall, *Adolescence*, chapter vii.

"thou shalt not do any work," thou nor thy wife nor thy son nor thy clerk nor thy hireling: it is the moral law, founded in the human body.

The sin of our economic régime that forces millions of women to work under overseers, in defiance of their periodic life, often when bearing or nursing children, is upon this people, upon our legislators, upon our educators as well as upon our manufacturers, our merchants, our consumers, and upon our husbands.[1] And the retribution is as certain as history is certain. Who cares whether the babies perish and the mothers grow faint and fade away? Examine the statistics. Read the tale of past nations. Go about among the people. He who knows the truth, who has seen things as they were and are knows who He is that cares.

There are moral laws of Property, of the Family, of the Church, of the State, of the School, of Culture, of Occupation, of Business, and of General Society. Only war has no moral law:[2] "all is fair in war." War is the antitheme of every moral law, for it destroys life, customs, habits, social relations, and affection, and sets in their places death and ruin, pain and hatred.

The physical laws of morality are personal. All others are social in origin, personal in application. To sleep, to eat, to bathe; these the solitary man on an island ought to do regularly and frequently, that he may be inwardly and outwardly clean and full of health. But to him most other moral laws are "dead letter," for he has no neighbors to love and to help. Where two or three are gathered, there comes in the new and larger morality. The lonely hermit has no property of his own to preserve, no property of others to respect, for property is a social institution. He may have religion, but can have no

[1] Particularly, upon our publicists and thinkers.

[2] "It is the strain of murder that is the inheritance of the sons of men." Joubert, *The Tsar as He is*, p. 293.

church; may exercise some art, but can engage in no commerce.

Property is either real or personal: in general, real estate is land, and personalty is everything else.[1] Now, in a civilized society nearly every birth is due to, or at least qualified by, the assurance of its conditions and the expectation of its continuance. I am not merely conditioned by my environment, I am in reality produced by it. This environment, therefore, this civilized society owes me perhaps not a share in its rights and goods, but surely owes certain rights and goods. What society owes to the individual, whose coming into life it causes,[2] constitutes both the total social obligation to the individual and the total personal right as against society. Morality requires the performance of this obligation by the acknowledgment of this right, and by action accordingly. And the requirement is more than merely the vaunted "democratic equality of opportunity."

What the total obligation is, of course, conditions the total right; and is itself conditioned by the nature of the society. We have heard so much of the duty of the individual to society and of the rights of society against the individual, that this argument may perhaps find some difficulty of lodgment in minds that almost inevitably have prejudged and closed the case. Because of society, indeed by the very force of social precept and example, of social organization and operation, men and women marry and beget offspring and are enabled to rear them.

We may classify civilized societies in two groups, —

[1] For the legal distinctions and exceptions *vide* Washburn, *Real Property*; Gray, *Cases in Real Property*.

[2] Of all the thoughtlessness of mankind, there is perhaps nothing more common or striking than the absence of thought that I, the individual, am here, because antecedent social conditions permitted my birth and rearing. Reverence for the Past is but filial gratitude to the true parent of us all. Cf. Plato, *Laws*, xii.

those which have already turned all their lands over to private ownership and those which still have unoccupied public lands in their vicinage. With private property in land what it now is, — the right by title, guaranteed by government law and force, to exclude all others irrespective of the owners' use or mode of use of the property and irrespective of the use proposed by all others (save in certain instances, when the property may be taken by condemnation proceedings), — the first group of communities must contain two classes of citizens, the landed and the landless, the "rich," so-called, and the proletariat.

But every child born into life has a natural right to place, to sunlight, to air, and to water, — that is, a natural right to life. To that end, God gave the life in the womb. And every child has a social right to a mother's milk and to a mother's care and to that minimum of support, preparation, and opportunity which will enable him or her to live out a normal term of years.

Every right is a minimum of expectancy of the persistence of conditions; which is to say that every right is a vested right. Every right is a psychological condition resultant from a sociological situation. The denial of a right is, therefore, a mental shock, from which mental insanity may, and not seldom does, result. This is equally true whether the right is based on conditions clearly of ethical advantage to society or to the individual, or is based on conditions more or less injurious to all concerned.

No child yet born has failed to be surprised when he learns that his parents do not own their "own house" or quarters, but must pay rent to a landlord for them. When he first learns that the "house" is not "mine" or "ours," a shock results from which there is no moral recovery. To this child, home and property are terms with false meanings thereafter. Born with the idea of absolute right in his birthplace, the right expressed in the popular saying, "An Englishman's house is

his castle," once let him realize that he is but a wanderer and sojourner, and his universe has lost its centre. It is not possible to measure how much immorality is due to this unmooring of life.[1]

Wife-beating is a right in various countries. In a certain city of the East, a wife-beater and the frequently beaten wife were haled into court by the neighbors for disturbing the public peace. When sentenced and fined, the husband broke down utterly. His "liberty" had been taken away, his family disintegrated. The wife was scarcely less moved from her foundations. The effect upon her was that of suddenly giving sight to the blind, while that upon him was like the loss of an oar by a boatman in a swift current.

Much of the progress of society depends upon the reduction of rights; not the restoration of a simple primitive equality, but the construction of an elaborate civilized equality. And yet the rest of the progress of society depends upon the maintenance of the essential rights, inhering in man from birth by virtue of the human or even the more ancient animal nature. Such a right, indisputable, though often denied, in fact, is the right to a part of the earth for room to live, to breathe, to eat, to marry, to sleep, to die. Society organized in the universal institution of government has permitted, indeed has encouraged the partition of all the land to the living, and then has encouraged their multiplication by promoting marriage, peace, and hygiene. A transformation, therefore, begins immediately. The added generations and the unsuccessful are, or become, landless. Society soon consists of landlords and tenants, only a few being house-owners without tenantry. In the cities, the multitude must pay at stated intervals to privileged individuals various sums of money for the use of their privilege to

[1] "Whilst another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated." Emerson, "Man the Reformer," *Nature, Addresses, and Lectures.*

exclude them from the land, that is, they must pay for the right to live upon land, a right, be it repeated, that is inherent in life itself.

A certain philosophic defense has been attempted, to the effect that rent-payment is commutation of war avoided or foregone. The new-born babe is not required to fight for a spot upon which to go on breathing, but by a money-payment from his parents may commute the natural necessity to fight.

Of course, that defense of the advantage taken by private property apologists of true economic rent (the Ricardian rent of "the dismal science"), which says that there is plenty of "no-rent land," is both fallacious and malicious. It is fallacious in that there is literally no land in America without an owner who does not exclude all trespassers. There may be land earning no real economic rent, but there is none to be had for homestead use without price for fee-simple or for annual or other hire. The price may be very low; but the argument in the main text asserts that the right to breathing-space is absolute, and therefore the space must be as free as life itself; which life the Creator makes compulsory for sane men and women and children. Such is the fallacy. The malice consists in this: Man is by nature gregarious. In this age, the horde does not run in the fields or make clearings in the forests, dwelling in a communism that would be indeed anachronous; but it settles in the town, which grows into the city perforce of modern domestic and international peace and of industrial progress. Private property, extending itself beyond any ancient powers of savage force or feudal custom by means of documentary titles and constitutional government, fines mankind for our strongest and most commendable characteristic, our joy in neighborliness, our sociability, our absolutely necessary desire "to get together," and universal habit of doing so.[1]

The moral law of society is, therefore, prescriptive of

[1] I propose no remedy. The disease is political and legal in its origin, not educational. But I see no prospect of relief through either socialism or anarchy. The problem appears to be rather municipal than national.

the right of every individual to land, — that is, free land. This is proper to him. Decency requires the recognition by society of this right.

What else the moral law of society prescribes with respect to the institution of Property is comparatively clear. Every individual has the right to his own product and to gifts of the products of others; and he has no right to anything more. Stated otherwise, the moral law assures no right to levy upon the products or services of others, no right to get from other individuals something for nothing.

In a genuine morality, a morality without hypocrisy, a morality willing to see things as Jesus saw them, we are brought face to face with this law, — "Come, follow Me," [1] who have nothing. "Give us this day our daily bread." "The laborer is worthy of his hire;" [2] and to every man a penny a day.[3]

In these days of new and strange extensions of private property, the pretensions of the beneficiaries become immoral, and provoke barbarous reprisals by the victims; but the worst result is the setting-in of racial degeneration, strictly inevitable when essential rights are violated. We need to think what wealth may properly be private. When we shall have formed a more correct definition, and when men working in governments shall have reconstructed law to conform to morality, then we may all become once more admirers and respecters of private property as it really is.[4] Property that is really wealth proper to the possessor is the bedrock of civilization, more ancient and more necessary than marriage and

[1] Luke, *Gospel*, xviii, 22.

[2] Luke, *Gospel*, x, 7, where the hire is lodging, eating, and drinking.

[3] Matthew, *Gospel*, xx, 9.

[4] "The happiness of a people depends upon the degree of promptitude with which the gulf between social necessities and established law is narrowed." Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 23.

family. Respecting such true property, secured by effort or by free gift, and not by stealing, direct or indirect, open or covert, the moral law is against not only actually stealing it but against even coveting it, as Moses said more than two millenniums ago.[1]

As the moral law regarding Property is social, involving at least two, so also is the Family. We have now risen one stage higher in the social scale. The Family is a physical relation of parent and child, mother and father, publicly acknowledged throughout life, so that in an advanced society the physical aspect is subordinated to the free recognition of the relationship, which thereby becomes idealized or, as we say, spiritualized. History has known many varieties of the Family, — the polyandrous, the polygynous, the patriarchal, the matriarchal, and the monogamous, free and strict. Christian civilization in the West has indorsed the monogamous Family, and is now struggling with the vital question whether or not to permit not contemporaneous but successive polygamies through the marriage of divorced persons.

In building up the strictly monogamous Family (divorce and even separation denied in State and in Church) five ideals have been developed, unique in the history of animal life upon the earth and of singular portent. These five ideals appeared in this order, — female virginity, female chastity, male chastity, male virginity, and continence in marriage. These severe ideals have had an exactly opposite effect upon population from that which might have been anticipated. The more closely and generally they have been maintained, the more numerous have been the births, the longer the lives, and the lower the death-rates. Prostitution, a notion beyond the understanding of a primitive horde, developed in

[1] This is said without prejudice as to whether or not Moses wrote Exodus and revealed the Decalogue, as many believe.

polyandrous and polygamous societies into the dignity of a religious ceremony, to descend in monogamous societies to a concealed and ashamed commercial activity, and has at last been put under the ban of the public law, surviving as "the social evil." Almost equally abashed though not yet equally rebuked, male wantonness is declining. The moral law is not yet fully clear on all the matters involved. But society is beginning to see that to call into life a human being whom the parents cannot properly support and educate is a sin, and that for society to neglect a child, even though thus actually brought into life, is a yet greater sin. And society, more or less consciously and conscientiously, approves the life of that man or woman to whom marriage is a sacrament and a covenant before God and man, to be fulfilled with absolute honor. The excuses prevalent a hundred years ago, in certain regions of Christendom, and among certain classes of religious and secular men and even women, for promiscuity before marriage are no longer made publicly. An equal faithfulness is demanded of both man and woman, and celibacy is required to be synonymous with virginity. And everywhere celibacy is discouraged. It is a curious and apparently contradictory movement in an age of the economic freedom of woman. These movements conspire for the equality of the sexes.

On this foundation of clean marriage, there is built the new moral law that every parent owes to every child an education, and that the State is a proper social instrument to give to the child such an education, taxing (partially confiscating) any property for that purpose.

There are other moral laws of the Family. To the father and mother who work to support and care for their children until they are able decently to care for themselves, the children owe obedience and faith. And grown sons and daughters, not invalid, owe to aged or otherwise invalid parents support in their infirmity. In

this age of the dispersion of families, many have forgotten that "blood is thicker than water;" and brothers and sisters, not to mention uncles and nephews, aunts and nieces and cousins, of one or two removes, seldom recognize relationship as of any special moment. Lineal descent seems alone to count; and modern morality scarcely enforces the ancient family affection. Whether this can be recovered without the pressure of an era of severe social distress through famine, riot, or war, is doubtful; but that in losing the diffused affections of the ancient patriarchal family society has lost not only one of its charms but also one of its sources of strength is certain.

There are moral laws of religion unrecognized by millions to-day. Religion is, of course, not synonymous with the Church; and may not be coterminous with it. Religion is capable of various definitions. But whether we call it a sense of the disposition of the Universe (or God) toward ourselves,[1] or belief in the ultimate conservation of values,[2] or desire to be holy,[3] or indeed anything else that recognizes its essential property, which is the consciousness of relation between the whole and man, sound morality requires that every person should deliberately and constantly keep in mind that relationship, and act in accordance with whatever light may issue from this consciousness of himself as part of a whole. In the terms of the Christian religion, morality requires obedience to conscience, and also persistent effort to enlighten conscience with all truth.

Now the relation of the Church to religion is that, in any given age and land the Church displays its institution, and constitutes its objective realization or embodiment,

[1] Perry, *Approach to Philosophy*, chapter iii.

[2] Höffding (Fisher), *The Problems of Philosophy*, Editor's Introduction.

[3] Watson, *The Philosophy of Kant* (excerpts), p. 294, *Critique of the Practical Reason.*

of course, always imperfectly. And the peculiarities of this particular age and land — America in the first decades of the twentieth century — are that religion is not a universal activity, but only partial, and that even the religious do not all unite in one general Church. We have, it is true, so far as we have any religion at all, apparently but one religion, Christianity. And yet beneath the appearance certain differences of moment are discovered. We have Judaism, the mother-religion of Christianity; Roman Catholic Christianity with its historical desire for universality; Protestantism with its hierarchical, presbyterian, and democratic sects; Mormonism with its desire to reunite Church and State, a pseudo-Christianity of portentous menace; and miscellaneous sects from Ethical Culture to the religious communities and from Christian Science to the basest sorceries.[1] Woven in among all these, there are millions of atheists, infidels, secularists, of every shade from those who forget God, though treating His creatures fairly, to those who despise Him and hate His children and all His works.

In such an era, needing religious and moral regeneration, and needing also, it would appear, both religious and moral unity, or at least consistency, the beginning of social reform and of personal education is "the fear of the Lord." It is no doubt possible to worship God in temples not made with hands;[2] but man in civilization has chosen to erect houses of worship, — temples, mosques, kiosks, synagogues, churches, cathedrals. Therein they gather regularly whose fear of the Lord is not an occasional or startling terror, but a humble desire to know His will and to live in obedience to Him.

[1] Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the U. S., passim*. Also, advertisements in metropolitan newspapers.

[2] Paul, *Acts*, vii, 48. Bryant, *Forest Hymn*, has rich meaning in this connection.

The moral law requires such obedience, whether we pray to God in the closet [1] or openly. The moral law requires such outward acts as issue from a heart genuinely responsive to the voice of God in the conscience. That the observances of times, seasons, missions, festivals, fasts, sacraments, charities of a religious nature conduce to the sensitiveness of conscience, few doubt. That the Church, which organizes and maintains such observances, is essential to the preservation of religion from generation to generation, few doubt. And they who doubt have never shown themselves serious and anxious to elevate the morals of mankind, never. The moral law seems, therefore, to require support of the Church as the preserver of the forms and times of religion and worship.

To say this and not more is to represent the Church as in sad plight. The individual does owe allegiance to the Church as the outward form of religion. But the Church has a duty to the individual, to every individual born into the world, which, to speak plainly, most of its servitors, clerical and lay, have neglected and perhaps forgotten. The Church absolutely denies its mission when it requires application and examination for membership. The Church is "the Bride of the Lamb," to use the figure of the Apocalypse. It is the visible symbol upon earth of the omnipresent, eternal, omnipotent God, who cannot forget one of His children, not even the least; nay more, not even the sparrows.[2] The Church must forego every division, cease every exclusion, and proceed to the work of saving all. "Go ye, preach the gospel to every creature." "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." [3]

[1] A saying of Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel*, vi, 6.

[2] John, *Revelation*, xix, 7; Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel*, x, 29.

[3] Mark, *Gospel*, xvi, 15, the last saying of Jesus, according to the oldest of the Gospels; John, *Revelation*, xxii, 17.

Any view or practice contrary to the text appears to afford three objections to its moral soundness. First, "God hath made of one blood all nations of the earth" is true whether taken as a matter of religious faith or of scientific proof, and whether man be of but one stock or polygenetic; the synthesis of bodies and souls by heredity is complete.[1] Second, the State aims at universality. Can the Church, an older and more widespread institution, do less? Third, the School is developing the same purpose, drawing its inspiration from the Church, its organization from the State. Is the School to replace the Church?

In this age and land, when government is over all, when kings and outlaws alike are unknown, the State, which is the objective expression of government, claims and endeavors to enforce the allegiance of all. It is fighting for sincerity of soul with that strange new interest of mankind, Business, which is trying to subordinate government to its own particular and discordant ends. But the very fight bears witness to the accepted prestige of the State as the dominant and paramount social institution. Said Edmund Burke, a hundred years ago:—

"[The State] is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, — and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born. . . . The municipal corporations of that universal kingdom are not morally at liberty at their pleasure, and on their speculations of a contingent improvement, wholly to separate and tear asunder the bands of their subordinate community, and to dissolve it into an unsocial, uncivil, unconnected chaos of elementary principles. . . . If that which is only submission to necessity should be made the object of choice, the law is

[1] Hall, *Adolescence: its Psychology*, chapter x, *passim*.

broken, nature is dissolved, and the rebellious are outlawed, cast forth, and exiled from the world of reason, and order, and peace, and virtue, and fruitful penitence, into the antagonistic world of madness, discord, vice, confusion, and unavailing sorrow." [1]

The first moral law of the State is to give security to life, to liberty, and to property (or to "the pursuit of happiness," as Jefferson phrased it in the Declaration). It constructs the social order, its form and substance. A State that permits preventable injury to life is immoral. A State that permits any form of slavery or servitude is immoral. A State that permits preventable losses of property or damage to it — that does not conserve all true wealth and protect all private and public property, righteously produced and acquired — is immoral.

Because the State is the intellect of modern society, it requires for its service the ablest men. The second moral law for the State is to secure the ablest men for the conduct of its affairs.

American government — our democracy — persists in the two superstitions, *vox populi, vox Dei*, and the least government the best government; with their inevitable results. They were exposed long ago by Plato and by Aristotle; and they were much discussed by the Fathers of this Republic in the Constitutional Convention of 1787.[2] One of these results is that we American democrats suppose that if the legislature of all the people intends to legislate well, then all the government is necessarily good. To suppose this is to be unmindful of the fact that the executive department is quite as important as the legislative.[3] Another result is that in order to have a weak government, the common political purpose of most Americans, very weak men have been tolerated in office. In

[1] *Reflections on the French Revolution;* also, William, Bishop of Armagh, *National Review*, "Edmund Burke" (February, 1906).

[2] Chancellor-Hewes, *The United States: A History*, vol. iii, chapter x.

[3] As every lawyer, jurist, and publicist knows: judges and executives make laws as well as unmake them.

Nation, State, County, City, and Village, the average intelligence of the officers scarcely rises above the average intelligence of successful business men. We have had not only mediocre Governors but mediocre Presidents, and as for City Aldermen and State Legislatures, the facts are so notorious as to have become irritating commonplaces.

A third moral law of the State is so to exercise its powers and to perform its functions as to promote the welfare of society. "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required,"[1] is a saying quite as true of institutions as of individuals. The State is paramount, its opportunities are surpassing, and its responsibilities, despite denials, are, therefore, correspondingly great and heavy.[2] It is, of course, unwarranted to expect progress to result uniformly and rapidly; but the excuse, so often heard, that this Nation or State, County or City, Town or Village is no worse than some other is no more valid for political sins of omission or of commission than are the similar excuses of individuals. It is unnecessary to discuss here the applications or the details of this general principle. The moral law is that to be content with things as they are is to deteriorate. The statesman, whether ruler or subject, officer or voter, who has no aims for complete righteousness, for a beautiful national and domestic life, and for economic prosperity for all is morally a criminal.

From these moral laws of the State, there follow two for the individual as a citizen. Of these, the first is the obligation of the able and right-minded citizen to seek office and serve in it unmindful of his private interests. *In a*

[1] Jesus, Luke, *Gospel*, xii, 48. "And to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more."

[2] "Civilized mankind are aware of the changes taking place in their social condition and do consciously and deliberately take measures for its improvement. This consciousness of a corporate existence and of the power to direct social progress is a new force in human destiny." Cairnes, *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1875, p. 71.

democracy, no man can be a good man who is not ready to be a public man. This is a hard doctrine. No other can preserve the Republic. It may be that no other can now redeem the Republic, which requires the best of us all.

The second moral law for the citizen is never to desire the government to serve his private interests, whether with or without detriment to others.[1] This law involves the most far-reaching and the most searching criticisms of things as they are.

There are moral laws of the School, whose business it is, as Spencer said, to "prepare for complete living." Knowing well that they are making now and have made in the past no effort to prepare all youth for complete living, schoolmasters and schoolmistresses have always regarded this ideal as academic rather than practical, as intellectual rather than moral. The School has been a *cul de sac* rather than a highroad. Too many of its births are abortive, still-born.

The first moral law of the School is to prepare all, without exception, for the largest life in the greatest variety of activities, subject only to the limitations of each in ability, in character, and in energy. This will be a life of action, for the philosophy yet to be developed from the aphorism, "I act, that is, I am," will yet exceed in mass and in force all the philosophy from the aphorism of Descartes, "I think, therefore I am."

The worst deficiency of the School is its renunciation of duty and responsibility in respect to all matters that concern Marriage, Family, and Home. This renunciation is seen in the almost universal willingness of schoolmasters to graduate boys and girls with diplomas signifying preparation for life (or at least supposed so to signify) at the close of grammar-school courses at fifteen years of age. Still worse is the leaving of school, often, be it said with sorrow and shame, by the encouragement of principals and teachers, at the age of fourteen or

[1] Seelye, Hickok, *Moral Science*, chapter ix, *passim*.

fifteen from sixth, fifth, even fourth and third-year grades, "to go to work." Children who leave school so young, so immature, so ignorant, often already so discouraged with life, furnish the recruits for those pitiful companies of the envious victims of human nature in civilization, — street-walkers, harlots, gamins, hoboes, petty thieves, holdup men, — most of whom are under twenty years of age. There are not many of these? Their influence is negligible? There are more of them in every great city than of ministers, lawyers, physicians, and teachers combined. They "must live," and they do live, — short lives, it is true, but lives perilously infectious. Visit the police courts, and learn the truth about the married lives of the wretched. Visit the homes for "fallen women," most of whom are but girls who should be still at school. Visit the slums and the cheaper theatres on Saturday evenings; and think better of humanity, which endures so much of evil, of pain, and of ecstasy, and yet persists in life.[1]

And remember that all these men and women, boys and girls were born to the common heritage of knowledge, of culture, of home, and of freedom. Deprived of that heritage, sometimes themselves wantonly wasting it, they must live for simply the necessity of living, moment by moment, — abandoned to the appetites, hunger, warmth, desire, the delight of the eye, the pride of life.

They are graduated from the middle grammar grades to the factory, store, street, dance-hall, saloon, den, jail, and graveyard. And priest and Levite and I pass by on the other side.[2] The school has failed to educate us as well as them.

A second moral law of the School is to employ teachers competent to interpret life in all its phases. "No stream can rise higher than its source."

A third moral law is to demand and to enforce adequate support for itself. Any other course is hypocrisy.[3] The present situation in which the average teacher is

[1] The reaction from all this is reflected in the novels of the times: e. g. Tolstoi, *Resurrection;* Henry, *The Unwritten Law.*

[2] Jesus, Luke, *Gospel*, x, 30.

[3] Chancellor, *Our Schools*, chapters xiv, xv, and xvi.

a girl, looking to marriage for escape and burdening her relatives for at least a part of her support, is an historical and an economic absurdity.

A fourth moral law is to regard its own rights to equality with every other social institution. It must insist upon service by an independent profession, exercising entire control in it. Under lay domination, the public school at least, if not also the private and the endowed, is only a pseudo-school. In respect to education, every person who is not an educator, formally recognized as such by other educators, is a layman.

There is a moral law for the educator, flowing out of his relation to the School; and this moral law requires him to *live like a man in the world of men.* The exceeding deference of schoolmen and schoolwomen to their political superiors, and sometimes even to parents, is treachery to the cause of education, betrayal of the rights of children and youth, confession of the untruth of the claim of fitness to prepare the young for life.

So varied is culture, so numerous are the cultures, that it is not easy to discern the moral law therein.[1] Culture, Philosophy, whatever we call the *summum* of human knowledge, — all sciences and arts, the science of sciences, and the art of arts, — affords, has always afforded, and will always afford the supreme problems to the supreme intellects. Were the problems ever solved, new ones would be presented; hitherto these supreme problems have not been solved.

There are, however, discernible moral laws for Culture as an institution and for cultured men and women.

The first of these laws is to preserve the true, the good, and the beautiful. In whatever form Culture manifests itself, the law holds: whether the form be the University, the Drama, Literature, Art, or Music. Obedience to the law requires not only intelligence and good faith,

[1] Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus:* "The Everlasting Aye."

qualities common among the cultured, but also courage and patience and self-denial, elemental qualities that Culture seems to neglect, sometimes even to eradicate.[1]

Culture shrinks from battle. It has grown refined and suffers pain from the din and the flame, the pain and the blood of conflict. Yet the good, the true, and the beautiful can be preserved in an ignorant and wicked world, and have been preserved, only by the self-denial, the patience, and the courage of the cultured. In truth, that is not true culture which is not able to attack whatever is false, evil, or hideous, and anxious to defend whatever is true, good, or beautiful. In respect to morality, Culture is self-containing. It is not a goal, but a course upon which mankind goes forward to the completeness designed for us by the Creator.

A second moral law for Culture is to seek these excellent things everywhere and always, and gladly to recognize them. This is a hard saying: Truth is often destructive of much that hitherto has passed for Culture. It is often unpleasant to champion the new.[2] Beauty is often found where Culture is least inclined to look for it. And Goodness may appear anywhere, — not the goodness, it is true, always of the great but often of the little things of life. In democracy, Culture must walk not only where the rich and the powerful and the learned resort, but also by the countryside and in the city slum. *Culture must go wherever men are; it is not only to be sought, it must itself seek.*

A third moral law of Culture is to give itself freely

[1] I have examined book on book dealing with ethics and morals. I have yet to discover one that tells the truth that courage is the first, the basic, the absolutely essential, and the only essential, virtue.

[2] Cf. "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. *Rejoice, and be exceeding glad.*" Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel*, v, 11, 12. Common and virulent abuse test and witness the only real courage. Men speak well only of "the false prophets."

and commonly, to spend and to be spent in the cause of humanity. Whatever it gathers, it must spread. And in the modern mind only that Culture is Godlike which, like God the Giver, loseth its own life, careless whether it may ever find the life again.

The University exists not for itself, but for the Truth; and for the Truth only because man needs truth. Whatever truth the University knows it must dispense as truly as possible. Literature is under the same law. In the ideal State, therefore, all Religion, all Art, all Science, all Drama, all News, all Literature, all Music will be as free as the highroad, the elementary school, the mother's care, and the air itself now are.

"That day, how it shines afar!"

But the highway could not be made free until the men who traveled it had learned to go about peacefully and orderly, until they were worthy of its freedom and fit for its society.[1]

Culture must be faithful to its trust, catholic in its taste, and generous in its spirit; and it must be more. It must be patient with ignorance and with weakness, sympathetic with every manner of inferiority, whether of will or of feeling, of intellect or of opportunity, and urgent only of that which is fit and right in the premises. Upon this high range of human power and skill and feeling, Culture must walk discreet as well as righteous, kind as well as just, not condescending and yet not equal; for there is no unkindness more harsh than that which demands of the less what only the greater can perform.

It is a moral law for Culture to be charitable; moreover, it is a graceless spectacle for Culture to appear wanting in charity. We expect of Culture every charm, as we expect the diamond to be flawless in its substance

[1] Similarly, the railroad — the modern highway — cannot be made free until men are fit to travel freely upon it.

and form, and the rose to be perfect in its fragrance and beauty. For the man or woman of true culture knows how infinite the world is, how great and beneficent was that series of good fortunes by which even his or her little culture has been made possible, how every moment spent upon this or that truth has been taken away from all other truth, and how frail is the hold of the mind upon its treasures. There are never two persons of like or equal culture in all the world, nor ever have been. Men and women of culture stand upon the outermost circumference of the sphere of humanity, to whose centre the ignorant and the mediocre must cling. They are like plateaus or mountain peaks thrust into the blue, — radiations tending ever to greater remoteness from common human lives. Moreover, their bases are the rock of this same humanity by which they are supported. In the very nature of culture, it is economically parasitic, based upon substance. The man of culture cannot eat bread in the sweat of his own brow.

Consider that high mountain. First to catch the sunrise of the new day, it is last to reflect the sunset of the old day. It rises firm and solid, high into the blue of heaven. Its base is skirted by pleasant valleys, its sides are green with forests, upon its top lies the white snow, while around it flock the gleaming clouds. Beneath it is the mighty earth, with its rock crust and white-hot core, rotating on its axis, revolving in its planetary course, whirling with all the rest of the solar system upon its path through this special universe. The mountain seems so strong that we imagine it eternal. And yet we know that in truth there are no "everlasting hills." Wind, rain, ice, faulting, compression are reducing its mass and lowering it to the common flat; and the end is certain. To-day the mountain stands, symbol of the majesty of God, expressing the laws by which He manifests Nature, laws of gravitation, of centrifugal and centripetal forces, of atomic valence and molecular cohesion, of heat, of electricity, of light, of vibrations, of periodicity, of sound, of all manner

of attractions and repulsions, because of which the mountain with its snows and rains and clouds, with its now sun-kissed, now starlit, now cloud-crowned head, is. Destroy one of these laws, and the beneficent, solid, glorious mountain is not.

So with Culture. Take from it the love of Truth or the sense of Beauty or devotion to the Good or sympathy with Mankind, and the culture is an illusion, a fog, a miasma.

There are moral laws of Occupation, which is the mode of the industrial arts ; that is, Culture in the concrete ; objective or real Culture. The distinction between Art (the fine arts) and industrial culture is not that Art is for Art's sake while Occupation is mediate that Life may be, for Art is no true end in itself, but serves to perfect Humanity ; nor is the distinction in the motive, for Art may be as self-centred or as practical as Occupation : but the distinction is that Art (or any other mode of pure Culture) is careful only of the spirit and is careless of the material, while Occupation must consider the material, the substance. Michael Angelo may be architect and painter and sculptor, for he is an artist ; but the masons must build St. Peter's of stone of right quality and carefully cut to pattern. The artist fixes his eye on the design, the artisan his on the material. The modern architect-engineer has a vision of the building that is to be ; but within the limits of the materials chosen, steel, brick, concrete, stone, terra-cotta, wood, its form may be whatever he chooses. Not so the workmen, for they are not the masters but the slaves of the form. The poet may sing his thoughts in ode or sonnet or ballad or lyric ; but the typesetter must present his words exactly in the literal types.

The world of Culture is a world of free men, the world of Occupation is a world of servants.

The first moral law of Occupation is that it must support the worker and all his natural dependents. Otherwise, it is no true occupation, but a cheat and a snare and

a torment, which betrays its victim and draws society to ruin. Because this is the moral law and for no other reason whatsoever, for this law is wholly sufficient and absolutely imperative, Society in its organized and dominant form of the State undertakes to regulate wages. Here all the political ecomony of *laissez faire*, with its world partly God's, partly the Devil's, the political economy not of true wealth but of property-wealth, utterly breaks down, because it denies sound morals. The laborer must live by his work, he and his sick, his weak, his aged, his little ones. Why? Because God has constructed humanity in a fashion that requires care of infants that civilization may endure, care of the young and the weak that man may be tender-hearted, care of the aged that he may be just and grateful, care of the strong that his strength be not used for his own destruction. Work without adequate wages for all these objects of human necessity and affection is work that destroys the race, is work against the will of God, whose end is to establish and to perfect humanity.

> "Then Christ sought out an artisan,
> A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
> And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
> Pushed from her faintly want and sin.
>
> "These set He in the midst of them,
> And as they drew back their garment-hem,
> For fear of defilement, 'Lo, here,' said He,
> 'The images ye have made of Me.'"[1]

What are we going to do about it? First, recognize it, diagnose it. There is no cure until the disease is known. This is a disease of civilization. What has education to do with this? Who does not understand the proper relation of education to civilization, does not yet under-

[1] Lowell, *A Parable*.

stand what education in America is and what we as Americans have undertaken.

A second moral law of Occupation is that it should include all who are capable of its labor without injury to themselves, but not capable of rendering any higher service to society. Every one with the power to do immediately useful work should be required to do it, unless he is actually doing or is being fitted to do work that is or will be more useful work than Occupation affords. The leisure class must be composed exclusively of persons who as exponents of Culture are more useful to humanity than they would be as workers by Occupation. The working classes must be composed exclusively of those well able to work and not able to do anything better.

The corollary of this moral law is that no persons physically or psychically unable to work without detriment to themselves should work. The spectacle of pregnant and nursing mothers, of consumptives and other invalids, of half-grown girls and boys, even of baby children, at work in mines or mills or factories or stores is an offense against conscience as well as against common sense.[1] It may be "Business"; but so may war and pestilence, crime, graft, and vice be "Business." That reconstruction of society, that "industrial revolution,"[2] which has borne the fruits of disintegrated home and family, government for the merchant, religion and culture for persons of leisure and wealth, education for practical life, has itself been brought to bar for judgment and sentence. It has filled the world with goods, but for whom?

[1] "'True,' say the children, 'it may happen
That we die before our time:
Little Alice died last year; her grave is shapen
Like a snowball in the rime.
We looked into the pit prepared to take her:
Was no room for any work in the close clay:
From the sleep wherein she lieth none will wake her,
Crying, "Get up, little Alice! it is day."'"
Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *The Cry of the Children.*

[2] Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution;* Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera.*

The year 1660 saw the end of feudalism, the year 1776 saw the rise of republicanism; but by 1830 this republicanism, which was in substance a democracy, with an aristocratic overtone, a representative democracy, began to be subverted by a new feudalism more subtle, less responsible than the old. Therefore, we have a democracy with a plutocratic overtone and a demagogic undertone: and what is that sad music as of breakers so far away? Is the wind rising? Is there thundering in the air? Is the good ship driving into storm?

A second corollary of this law is that none should work overtime, beyond his strength, so long as to exclude the possibility of living the present life of civilized society. Even the workingman is clearly entitled to some leisure. It may be true that he cannot for a year or for five years at a stretch produce as much when working eight or six hours a day as he could when working twelve or fourteen hours a day. It may be inconvenient for commercial and industrial enterprises to give every worker a day and a half in every seven for rest and recreation. It may be true that the man who works eight hours a day and five days in the week will spend much of his time and of his money in the "saloon," that bugbear of philanthropic business men, who do "not believe in the eight-hour day" and in the Saturday half-holiday.[1]

A third moral law of Occupation is that its product shall never be harmful to humanity. This is an application of that fundamental law of righteousness, — to do nothing injurious to one's self or to others. Law-honesty may not run *pari passu* with real honesty; but to adulterate food is none the less vicious. Fornication may be practiced without prejudice among certain classes, and is forgivable in the notion of certain churches; but as a mode of livelihood or of amusement, it is as vicious

[1] In the reaction against what I know of too much work, I will not find fault with the middle-aged workingman who visits the saloon in the evening, or even the young man or woman who goes to the "cheap theatre" or to the music- or dance-hall. Cf. Patten, *New Basis of Civilization*, chapter vii.

to-day as it was when God wiped out whole peoples that practiced it.

This moral law of Occupation affords a simple yet entirely convincing test of "what one has a right to do for money." Applied, it would revolutionize the practices of the ministry, the law, medicine, education, government, manufacture, commerce, marriage, and indeed what not? Religious hypocrites for hire, legal tricksters and shysters, medical quacks, uneducated educators, legislators on behalf of "special interests," makers and traders in the "just-as-good" and "harmless adulterants," gambling of whatever kind, marriages for money or for support, and everything else that tends to debase mankind, would disappear; therefore, this cannot yet be, for the end apparently is not yet in view.

A fourth moral law of Occupation is to improve both the art itself and the artisan. The machine that conquers work is a benefaction to mankind.

A corollary of this law is almost as important as the law itself. Wanting a universal organization, Occupation, both as Employer and as Employed, has appealed often to Government for relief when machinery has displaced laborers and upon many other occasions. Occupation must organize in order to set its artisans and other workers right in the world as conditions change.[1]

For the worker in Occupation, there is the law to deal honestly with one's self and with the world. The product and the service for one's own sake and for the sake of humanity must be the best of which one is capable under the circumstances. This, too, is revolution. If every workman were intelligent and honest and as efficient as Nature and School have permitted, Death would harvest few before they had reached "man's allotted span," whatever that is.

[1] Webb, *Industrial Democracy*.

For the Professions, which are higher than the Occupations and founded on them, which are, indeed, useful modes of Culture rather than distinct modes of human activity, though they are modes of applying special knowledge in the service of humanity, there is the distinct moral law that the professor should serve all the needy irrespective of compensation, honorarium, or other reward.

Business has many meanings. In its narrowest sense, according to Webster, it means "traffic," "buying and selling," "financial dealings." I use it in the slightly broader sense of directing occupations, exchanging goods, employing services for economic ends. Among business men, I include employing manufacturers, merchants, bankers, brokers, contractors, agents, overseers, transportation managers, and others similarly engaged.

In the year 1776, nine tenths of Americans were farmers.[1] The number of business men was very small. Even of these, most were partly farmers and mechanics. There were some business men in England, but its reputation as "a nation of traders and shopkeepers" was not yet established. A study of the census of 1900 for the United States fails to reveal what we desire to know. There were merchants and dealers (wholesale), male 42,032, female 261; (retail), male 756,802, female 34,084; bankers and brokers, male 72,984, female 293; officials of banks and companies, male 72,801, female 1271. But we are at a loss to discover how many employing farmers there were; how many of the foregoing merchants were their own bookkeepers and salesmen; how many contractors there were in the building trades; how many employing manufacturers; in short, how many men and women in "gainful occupations" were securing their gains from products of their own hands, and how many by trading in the products of others. It may be Utopian to expect a census that will adopt philosophical or even

[1] Schouler, *Americans of 1776.*

economic distinctions, and cease to call both the man who lays brick and stone and the man who employs such brick- and stone-layers "masons." The man who cuts diamonds and the man who buys and sells cut diamonds view life from different points. He who farms twenty acres and he who farms twenty thousand differ as the laborer in an industry and the manager of a business must inevitably differ. Their differences are many. The important difference for this discussion is that the primary interest of the man of art, whether fine or industrial, is in the work itself, the product, the service, while the primary interest of the business man is in what he or his employers or his stockholders will get out of it, in the profits, in the results to property.

In 1893, at Interlaken, in a little wood-carving shop, I saw a little carven bear. The price was five francs. I offered four. After some parley, the carver said, "Oh, well, I can make another," and sold the art-treasure. He was an artist. In that same year at Pisa, in a store, I saw small replicas of the Leaning Tower at four lire each. I offered seven lire for two. "No, signore," said the proprietor, "the price of two towers is ten lire." "Why?" I asked. "If you can buy two, you must be rich," answered the business man.

The argument is not that the small farmer may not be also a good business man. He may be also a good politician. It is that, as compared with the "bonanza farmer," he is not primarily a farmer for the profits of "the farming business."

It is in fact easy to transform any profession or art or trade (occupation) into a business; and to do so is one of the temptations that beset mankind. The physician who betrays medicine from the art of healing into the business of getting money from incurably or disgracefully sick persons, the woman who marries for money, the author who writes books to sell, and others like them, pervert art from its purposes and strike at the heart of civil society.

The characteristic purpose of Business, as defined and

used in this text, is without labor or value to make something into more, which is in reality to get something for nothing. Of Business, used in this sense, some typical operations are these: to buy at a price and "to hold for a rise," then by selling "to make a profit;" to force owners to make sales to their disadvantage; to monopolize or "corner" properties so as to force purchasers to buy "at artificial prices;" to defraud the general public, that is, one's fellow men, by bribing or bulldozing their representatives in government or by betraying the public through making its own heads, employers, or attorneys the political representatives; to muzzle the press; in its own interest, to publish statements not true or to suppress true statements; to enforce contracts to their limit when favorable, and to scant them to the limit when unfavorable. "The stock market is pure business, and no sentiment," is a common saying.

It is Business that has given basis to the philosophy of Nietzsche. Mankind may be divided into two kinds: masters and servants. The world exists for the profit of the masters. To the consistent exponent of Business the end of life is gain. Business is not too serious in its view of life, but too intent in its purpose to say, "Eat, drink, for to-morrow we die." But it does say, and act accordingly, "I will tear down my barns and build greater." Given free rein, Business would wreck mankind immediately, for it would destroy every form of Society.

Business must not be confused with transportation of goods. This is a service that actually adds value to the goods. The service requires labor and employs capital often at many points. Wholesalers and retailers (the "middlemen" between producers and consumers) must move the goods from mine, mill, warehouse, store, to the place of consumption.

The artificiality of business becomes apparent when the canvassing agent is considered. Clearly he adds nothing to the value of the goods, though he must be paid out of the price.

War is without morals. What are the morals of Business as defined here? War is a relation, an anti-relation, a struggle between assailant and assaulted. Business is a struggle between seller and buyer. The "ethics" of selling involve getting the highest possible price for the article; of buying, getting the article at the lowest possible price. To be sure, when one expects to go on selling the same kind of article for years to come, it "pays" to be "honest," that is, to represent the goods as they are. But this is the "honesty" of "policy," not of morality.

There are many evidences that Business is a Warfare tempered by truces: only a few of these evidences may be outlined. To prevent competition from running into cut-throat anarchy, rival sellers of similar goods form pools or consolidate into syndicates, corporations, or "trusts," while rival sellers of labor form unions and federations. "Ethics" require that the merchants shall keep honor with one another unless a very great profit is certain to follow withdrawal from the agreement, and that the laborers shall stick together and not "scab" in time of trouble. The same "ethics" permit strikes, boycotts, when laborers are dissatisfied, and lockouts when the employers are dissatisfied. It is conventional "ethics" to bribe an opponent when bribery is cheaper than making war upon him.

There are, no doubt, tens of thousands of men who wish that Business could become moral, even religious and philanthropic, in its character. And there are also many instances when Business actually serves the interests of morality and even of charity. But consider two of the fundamental tenets of morality, — to tell the truth and to keep one's promises, — and imagine the effect upon Business of obeying these principles in letter and in spirit! What becomes of the doctrine of a "fair profit"? Does it include anything more than fair wages

for the service rendered and repayment of expenses actually incurred? On this basis would any man "earn" a million dollars by a deal? What becomes of the lawsuits for broken contracts that crowd the calendars of the courts? Do not the records of these courts bear witness to the fact that they are the umpires, referees, and judges in a warfare regulated but not suppressed by civilized society? Is not the lawyer a champion for an otherwise hapless wight in a jousting match or a tournament? The very penalty for non-performance, so frequently set forth in contract, bears witness to the fact that in Business we expect promises to be broken.

The man who tells the truth in Business, who gives full value (literally so) for value received, and who keeps his promises, — who, in other words, deals with others as he would prefer them to deal with him, — has renounced Business. Such a man does not consider what he can get and then proceed to get all that he can for a product or a service, but considers only what the product or service has actually cost him in goods and time; in short he is working for a livelihood, and not for a fortune. This is not Business as here defined. This man must be an artist, a professor, a servant, an artisan, a mechanic, or some other kind of person who lives to do good work and who works to live; but he is no "business man." The aim of the business man is to get more of the wealth of "the other fellow" than he gives in return: he adds to his own property if he can, and he does not care whether or not he adds to the sum of the world's wealth or happiness.[1] His own life is not an art in its aims or in its acts or in itself; but it is a means to get goods, to get ever more and more property.

There are many other relations than those of the formal social institutions and of the social struggles. These

[1] Ruskin.

other relations have never been classified, but are miscellaneous. We may combine them in the term General Society, which has clear and explicit moral principles, needing no exposition.

Social morality requires one to tell the truth unless that hurts, and even when it hurts, provided the case requires it, — that is, when the truth will do more good than harm. It requires keeping one's promises and appointments unless released. It requires the consideration for others, exemplified by such virtues as punctuality, politeness, and gentleness. It requires, therefore, decency of attire, courtesy by the strong to the weak, promising no more than one can perform, and raising no false expectations. It requires gratitude, resistance to evils suffered by or threatened against the weak, magnanimity to enemies, indifference to insults, to false accusations, and to backbitings, and a desire to deal justly, mercifully, charitably, with all men, good and bad. It requires full performance of every obligation in Church and State and in every other social institution.

That peculiar community known as Society and familiar in every part of the world does not manifest all these moral principles. Whether in China or in Boston, in Vienna or in St. Louis, Society worships success, and after a generation or two ignores the methods. It has one additional requirement, grace — or at least graciousness. To be successful and to have manners — such as affability, cordiality, bodily grace, and acquaintance with "the world" — is to have the keys to this Society. Though it knows thoroughly and appreciatively nothing, — neither Art nor Music, neither Drama nor Philosophy, not even War or Business, — Society is an æsthetic world-by-itself, not lightly to be regarded by actors in, or by students of, the various real worlds of men.

How shall education induct the youth into such a great and complex body of morals as this discussion suggests?

It has not yet seriously attempted the task. Only one so informed as to society may safely be trusted to take his conscience as his king.[1]

[1] "A creed is a rod,
And a crown is of night:
But this thing is God: —
To be man with thy might, —
To grow straight in the strength of thy spirit,
And live out thy life as the light."
Swinburne, "Hertha," *Songs before Sunrise.*

PART FOUR

THE EVIDENCES OF CULTURE

The sheer purpose to see things as they are, the love of our neighbor, the impulses to action, help, and beneficence, the desires for removing human confusion and for diminishing human misery, the noble aspiration to leave the world better and happier than we found it, the recognition that to be salutary and stable every action and every institution must be based upon reason and maintained by method, and the persistent sense of duty constitute culture, which seeks to make the best that is known and thought in the world current everywhere. Culture has one great passion, the passion for sweetness and light. It has one even yet greater, the passion for making them *prevail.* — MATTHEW ARNOLD, *Culture and Anarchy* (abridged).

CHAPTER XIV

SCIENCE

"Forward let me still go in my search after truth; and therein let me die."— BARNEVELD, Letter to a Friend, in *Life* by Motley.

The greatest intellectual revolution man has yet seen is now slowly taking place by the agency of science. — HUXLEY, *Zoölogy*, *Lay Sermons*, p. 118.

The course of Nature is the art of God. — YOUNG, *Night Thoughts*, ix.

LITERACY writes and reads various records of fact and of opinion. Science discovers facts and exposes falsehoods. In respect to Nature, literacy expresses her appearances as seen casually, often as seen emotionally, by man, expresses her not perfectly, accumulates in books what man thinks of her. The burden of the thought of man about Nature, real enough perhaps for the recorder, but to all others secondary and not primary, grows ever heavier upon the shoulders of man.

Science is the result of the desire of man to know facts, to ascend the heights of Truth. For the discovery of Truth, for the knowledge of Reality as far as Man can know it, he has invented a method called Science. This is a method not of strictly universal applicability, but of far more general applicability than at first appeared. By it, man arranges the Facts and tests such hypotheses as may suggest themselves to him when he considers the Facts. The hypotheses remain in the domain of Philosophy, which is a system of generalizations upon generalizations, a science of sciences, and belongs, therefore, in the field of Literacy.

The scientific method has constructed a multitude of sciences, — to mention a few, botany, biology, zoölogy, anthropology, physiology, chemistry, physics, philology,

geology, mineralogy, meteorology; and is trying to construct many more, — sociology, therapy, hygiene, ethnology, somatology, psychology, pathology, economics. It undertakes to invade the field of history and to convert this into a science,[1] and has not hesitated to discuss religion, sometimes even challenging the reality of faith.

When we divide all subjects as belonging either to Nature or to Man, and therefore as belonging either to Science or to Philosophy, we are confronted by Mathematics, which are neither inductive and scientific in their nature nor human in their interests. We are told that, though essential to his success in the struggle with Nature, the Mathematics are sciences, and indifferent to the temporal concerns of man, because they are the logical, dialectic, intuitional, and supreme achievement of his intellect. For the Mathematics attain certitude, and all mathematical knowledge is indubitable. Therefore, they constitute abstract or pure Science, and contribute a statistical method to Science and a mode of quantitative measurement to the qualitative criticisms of Philosophy.

The scientific method begins with a childlike insistence upon sight of the thing as it is, and disregard of every opinion concerning it. Science is the second power of that activity of intelligence which functions as observation. Equally truthful and impartial with the observation must be the record of the fact as seen. The method proceeds to accumulate, to collate, and to correlate the facts and to consider them in their relations. It is, therefore, a method of redemption from superstition as well as from ignorance. The scientific method is truth itself functioning as desire and purpose to learn yet more truth. As such, it requires the exercise not only of the reason — that highest mode in which the mind of man acts, and which in its insights and intuitions seems to act independently of all condi-

[1] Fling, "Historical Synthesis," *American Historical Review*, October, 1903.

tions — but the exercise also of every other faculty. The eradication of superstitions must proceed *pari passu et aequo gradu* with the acquisition of truths, for the mind is not a vacuum but a plenum, and is capable only of correction and of enlargement, never of reduction. In itself, the denunciation of error can produce but one or the other of two results, obstinate accentuation of belief in the error through reaction against the assault, or confusion of ideas, unsettlement of opinion, and hopelessness of ever knowing truth, which is worse.

Nor may we with propriety too greatly flatter ourselves that superstitions are not in course of developing or of strengthening in these our own "modern" times. A superstition may indeed be an "ancient good" made "uncouth" by Time (to use the phrasing of Lowell), a principle grown anachronous, a corpse once living but at last putrid in death. For we must not only find new truth but reject old truth, not only construct but destroy. *Tabula* the mind never was, but *tabula rasa* in parts it must be in order that new truth may be written upon it. Agnosticism is the transition from knowledge to yet greater and better knowledge. One who is not willing to doubt is not yet ready to learn. A world that dares not challenge its beliefs thereby certifies that it is superstitious, for truth is militant.[1]

Into Nature, its past and its present, into Man as the chief product and example of Nature, we inquire to-day most anxiously and as scientifically as we know how. In this inquiry, we shrink from nothing whatsoever, believing that truth only is sacred, believing that truth is necessary to human salvation, believing that truth can receive no wound save the death-blow of fear for its safety. "Defend truth?" said Hegel. "Truth will defend thee."

[1] The free world challenges by experiment the modern reform. Wundt, *Human and Animal Psychology*, p. 9.

A multitude of problems and of questions suggest themselves to illustrate the range of this scientific inquiry into Nature and human nature to find truth. It is possible to transplant the ovaries: consider what questions of heredity and of morality this surgical achievement raises. Once man knew nothing of race; then came philology, measuring his kinship by language; now comes somatology, measuring his kinship by the ratio of length of head to breadth. Historical geology reconstructs the earth and localizes the subanthropoid upon ancient littorals of the sea. The brain appears to be a medium to register vibrations of thought. Mob sympathy becomes intelligible; and clairvoyance. Said Tolstoi: "The power transcending all others, which has influenced individuals and peoples since Time began, the power that is the convergence of the invisible, intangible spiritual forces of all humanity is social opinion."[1] The worm grows by visible stages into man. Electricity and steam have made the ancient aphorism untrue, "Government is strongest at its centre, weakest upon its periphery;" and democracy becomes as practicable for a continent as for a city. Radium looks through many forms of matter, and a new philosophy is born. In the spectrum, the universe becomes a unity. We measure fatigue by sphygnometry, and reconstruct education by anthropometry and by psychology. By the quantitative measurements of statistics, the old political economy fails and the new succeeds. Chemistry analyzes foods, and a nation changes its breakfasts.[2] As a mountaineer ascends the ice cliff, digging handhold and foothold anxiously, joyously, each hold slowly won but secure, so man ascends the heights of perfectness, relying upon ever higher and higher truth.

For truth, man turns ever more and more to Nature, the visible garment of God, as Goethe said; and God is no

[1] Tolstoi, *The Kingdom of God*, chapter x.

[2] Patten, *New Basis of Civilization*, p. 20.

hypocrite displaying one thing as truth in Nature and another thing as truth in Men. If there is a revealed Word, that Word and Nature must, of course, agree. There can be no reconciliation between scientific truth and religious truth, for there never was nor ever can be any disagreement.[1] The supposed disagreements were all revelations of new truth and exposures of old error.

Superstitions were respectable in ages when the structures of particular societies were too weak safely to permit collisions of thought; but in this age and land, when and where society has many different bonds, there is no danger but only good in freedom of thought, the last, not the first, the highest freedom of man. Therefore, he turns to Nature hopefully and continually.

"For I have learned
To look on Nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
The still, sad music of humanity,
Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
To chasten and subdue. And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things. Therefore, am I still
A lover of the meadows and the woods,
And mountains; and of all that we behold
From this green earth; of all the mighty world
Of eye and ear, — both what they half create
And what perceive; well pleased to recognize
In Nature and the language of the sense,
The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
Of all my moral being."

[1] White, *The Warfare between Science and Theology*, vol. i, p. viii.

"To them, I may have owed another gift,
Of aspect more sublime; that blessed mood,
In which the burden of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,
Is lightened: — that serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on, —
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul,
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things."[1]

Man as the product of Nature, body evolved, soul, too, evolved: is not this better, after all is said, than to suppose that each man is a stranger here, an individual special creation, homeless? And does this preclude his being an individual creature, proceeding, as Carlyle so often said, "from Eternity to Eternity"? Is there not a dignity in this conception of a cosmic life, of a life akin to all other creatures, that is unattainable by any other philosophy?

"Immense have been the preparations for me,
Faithful and friendly the arms that have helped me,
Cycles ferried my cradle, rowing and rowing like cheerful boatmen,
For room to me stars kept aside in their own rings,
They sent influences to look after what was to hold me.
Before I was born out of my mother generations guided me,
My embryo has never been torpid, nothing could overlay it.

For it the nebula cohered to an orb,
The long, slow strata piled to rest it on,
Vast vegetables gave it sustenance,
Monstrous sauroids transported it in their mouths and deposited it with care —
All forces have been steadily employed to complete and delight me,
Now on this spot I stand with my robust soul."[2]

[1] Wordsworth, *Tintern Abbey.* [2] Whitman, *The Song of Myself.*

Our hope is that the scientific study of Nature, begun in the nineteenth century, may prove to be one of those factors for want of which no nation has ever yet solved the problem of progress without end, but by the possession of which this nation shall so progress. This scientific study may produce, is, we believe, actually producing, results of value in human economy. Man, said Malthus, increases in geometric ratio, food in arithmetical; and, Ricardo added, by the law of diminishing returns, foodlands certainly reach a point where each laborer begins to find his individual return growing smaller. Social peace, therefore, multiplies man and thereby brings him to starvation. History has disproven this proposition; the factor ignored was scientific discovery accompanied by technical invention.[1] We have learned how to exhaust nitrogen from the air, how to inoculate the soil with the microbes of fertility, how to sow, to cultivate, and to reap by machinery, how to produce new plants, and how to work many other marvels; and starvation is more remote from man to-day than it was a hundred years ago, when the "dismal science" first declared its prophecy.

Natural science not only discovers new truth and adds to the stock of human knowledge, but manifests a singular power in the education and elevation of its students. It liberates talents, quickens curiosity, arouses devotion, inspires activity, and enlarges sympathy. The serious student of Nature seems to be quickened by cosmic force, to be brought into the presence of the Maker. "Through Nature to God"[2] is a current phrase that conveys a truth familiar to the students of science, technical as well as speculative, laboratory as well as library. Telescope, microscope, telemicrophotoscope, spectroscope, reagent, flux, seismograph, quadrant, vernier, flame,

[1] Ward, *Psychic Factors in Civilization*, chapters xxvii, xxviii, xxix.

[2] Fiske, *Through Nature to God*, p. 193.

furnace; botanist, biologist, histologist, physicist, chemist, physician; tool, medium, worker: all these reveal the same truth as do Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer, Darwin, Wallace, Fiske, that the whole, from ion to universe, from star-dust to mind, is the thought of God. John, the religious poet, called the thought (the "logos") a person, "without whom was not anything made that was made." [1] And Dante [2] saw that all Nature is interwoven with the love of God.

It requires but very little philosophy to see that the question whether humanity is to conquer the slow cooling of the earth and to last forever, or is to have an end in the flesh as it had a beginning, has no relation to the question of finding God and His truth in Nature. Humanity is no entity, is a mere abstraction of thought, a concept, a term. Each individual may be an entity, a reality, an eternally living soul. For the individual, this particular Nature, the surrounding world, is real: each man in the course of his life may find this Nature his Maker and his God. An impermanent world, inhabited by a mortal humanity, may afford a sufficiency of experience for this period of time for each permanent and immortal man. The heavens may be rolled up as a scroll; but the reader may never forget what was written thereon. In the long perspective of eternity, evil is not "inchoate good," not "good in the making," not even a sacrifice that good may come, a temporary scaffolding for the permanent structure; but both good and evil cease to be, our finite judgments no longer hold, and we are reduced to a proper place as creatures who cannot judge.[3] Thus good and evil become inexplicable, their incidents mere occasions for the exercise of our finite powers; and we are taught "to trust in the Lord" and to do always and only that which to us seems good. One cannot look upon Nature and remain at peace, as one cannot look upon men and human society and remain

[1] John, *Gospel*, i, 6.

[2] *Paradiso*, xxxiii, 85.

[3] "I have learned," said Goethe, "quietly to revere the unfathomable."

at peace, or find peace, until one sees in all external processes the manner in which the Almighty works. And why then shall one do that which seems good? Only because life seeks goodness as though it were a positive magnetic pole; and the good promotes life. One who is the parent of ten children, another who rears two well, another who educates fifty, others who by their products or services feed, clothe, transport, enlighten, heal, amuse, or in any other of familiar uncounted ways, direct and indirect, benefit hundreds, perhaps thousands of humankind: these all do good because they promote life. Therefore, America has done well to regard economic service as useful and as honorable as political or cultural.[1]

Consider the varied forms of life in a single foot of woodland sod. Spears and roots of grass, weed and flower seedlets, worms, insects, seeds and eggs, lives and germs of lives visible and invisible, unnumbered and innumerable! The great tree near by sends tiny rootlets into it. On that sod, the bird, the hare, and the snake feed. The rain waters it, the air dries it; the sun warms, and the frost chills it. Here work all manner of physical forces, — capillary, molecular, atomic, kinetic, chemic. Underneath it subsists the planetary mass held in its course by sun and stars. This foot of sod, teeming with life, has all the interest of the universe; and, as a part of the universe, it has a dignity beyond estimate.

Thus Science, beginning with facts in the concrete, and proceeding through relations and generalizations, that involve all history, natural and human, arrives at the gateway of Philosophy.

In this world of God, we may not honorably fasten our attention and affection too much upon the various sciences of Nature from geology to ecology, or upon the fields of investigation as determined by a particular instrument, whether telescope or radium tube, or upon any particular method, historical, laboratory, comparative,

[1] Münsterberg, *The Americans*, chapters xi, xii.

inductive, or any other; Nature is more than Science, and the whole is far more worthy of our interest than any part. Moreover, Nature is the real teacher; and, when the soul is responsive, offers lessons of incalculable value.

> "And Nature, the old nurse, took
> The child upon her knee,
> Saying: 'Here is a story-book
> Thy Father has written for thee.'"[1]

Poets and naturalists have conspired with the hearts of men, have indeed expressed the innermost heart of man, by expounding and by exemplifying the lessons of Nature. In the education of the individual man, there is always a development that appears to be a revival of the ancient familiarity with Nature. But the appearance is far from the reality. By science, by literature, by the summer camp in the woods or upon the shore of ocean, we do not go "back to Nature." Knowledge builds in things visible the world of the city and builds in the invisible mind the world of Nature. The primitive savage of the fields and woods could not know or love Nature: the fear of the mysterious events and processes of the external world consumed him. Winters, storms, drouths, nights, wild beasts, reptiles, insects, diseases, accidents, deaths, births, wars, — an anarchy of circumstances not understood or misunderstood, — filled and terrorized his soul.[2] All the glory of life has increased as man has removed from his starting-point to his goal, from his origin to his destiny: all the glory, — freedom, beauty,

[1] Longfellow, *To Agassiz*.

[2] A comparison of the Nature-fiction — e. g. De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Weyman's *Story of Ab*, London's *Before Adam* — with the Nature-books of Thompson-Seton, Long, and their school, and with the Nature-bibles, — Hall's *Adolescence*, Darwin's *Origin of Species* and *Descent of Man*, Drummond's *Ascent of Man*, — reveals vividly the desire of man to uncover the depths whence he came and the road by which he came.

wisdom, righteousness, love of Nature. To the man who has won power from struggle, patience from pain, straightforwardness from difficulty, each virtue from evil overcome, each knowledge from darkness lighted, the entrance into Nature is an exceeding, an intoxicating joy. Pictures of sky and hill, of river and plain, of marsh and sea, of mountain and forest, of stars and sun, of night and twilight, of snow and rain: sounds of "the little green leaves," [1] songs of birds, plashing waves, roaring tempests, all manner of voices: insights and lessons: for these he goes into the open country not yet noisome with men, and of these he composes reverie and dream while life lasts.[2] The history of Nature fascinates him with its extinct animals, its changed seasons and climates, its human civilizations now vanished away, its evolution out of the primordial disorder, if such thing ever were. Cosmos out of Chaos? Never. A universe out of nothing? Never. A surprising reconciliation grows in his soul. What has made me must be like me and must make all things like me. This lesson comes late. The great throng of Nature-lovers belong to our own times; the names of Thoreau, Jefferies, Wordsworth, Bryant, Whitman, Tennyson, Lanier, lighten our age with the halo of glowing reverence for the works of God.

"Shall any gazer see with mortal eyes,
Or any searcher know by mortal mind?
Veil after veil will lift — but there must be
Veil upon veil behind.

"Stars sweep and question not. This is enough,
That life and death and joy and woe abide;
And cause and sequence and the course of time
And Being's ceaseless tide." [3]

[1] Lanier, *Sunrise.* [2] Jefferies, *Story of My Heart.*
[3] Edwin Arnold, *The Light of Asia.*

CHAPTER XV

ART

A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things. — JESUS, Matthew, *Gospel*, xii, 35. Cf. Luke, *Gospel*, vi, 45.

In our heart of hearts, we are well assured that the truth that has made us free will in the end make us glad also. — FELIX ADLER, *A Religion based on Ethics*, p. 34.

Art consists in this, that one person consciously, by certain external signs, — movements, lines, colors, sounds, images, words, — so conveys to others feelings that he has experienced that they are affected by these feelings and live them over in themselves. — TOLSTOI, *What is Art?* p. 74 (Johnston, translator).

THE ideals of Education, which is the proper concern of the School, are Intelligence, Efficiency, and Morality, — developed processes of intellection, conation, and emotion. The ideals of Culture, which is the proper concern of the University, are Science, Art, and Philosophy, — perfected processes of intellection, conation, and emotion. Thus by Education and by Culture, one may arrive at self-understanding and world-understanding. But one may achieve this end only by the long way of the mediate processes. One should know, do, judge; out of the knowledge let wisdom arise; out of the doing, art; out of the moral judging, a philosophy of conduct.

Even observation and literacy, the first and yet least of the ideals of education, can never be perfectly achieved. No man lives who can see all the truth and understand the written thought of every other man, living or dead, and express every thought of his own. He who studies Science seriously and continuously at last knows how futile all his study is; the unknown is so vast as to be essentially unknowable. Yet men have dreamed of becoming complete scholars and synthetic speculative scientists. Neither Von Ranke nor Lord Acton by long lives of

prodigious industry, supported by extraordinary talents, could master even all history, not to say all other fields of human literary expression.[1] Spencer essayed to master the meaning and details of all the sciences; but his philosophy, despite its mechanical and rational excellencies, fails as a science of sciences. True philosophy recognizes such an undertaking as literally "beyond reason."

Still more daring would he be who in this modern age should undertake the mastery of all the arts, for though in its essence Science is one, the arts are many. Michael Angelo, indeed, was painter, sculptor, architect, poet, and singer.[2] We meet men and women to-day who play the piano and the violin, write verse and prose, sing, and paint. The polyglot who is eagerly attacking his thirteenth or thirtieth language has his counterpart in the artist who in clay, oil, water-color, bronze, stone, brick, in tone of flute, cornet, viol, organ, by essay, poem, narrative, argument, seeks to express his thought in mode or form of beauty. Such universal artistry is a far more difficult enterprise than universal literacy. Artistry involves concepts of beauty, motor-efficiency, and that vigorous integrity of soul which we call conscience. To perceive beauty and to image it in the mind, to desire to make the image real in the world and to reduce hand and eye and brain, muscle, nerve, will itself, to successful obedience to the vision, and to think, to feel, and to perform everything in sweet harmony[3] with genuine morality are the obligations, the life-long, insistent obligations

[1] The curious should read the notes to Acton's brief essay, *The Study of History*, and discover how vast his reading was.

[2] Raphael, dying at thirty-seven, had compassed an immense range and variety of subjects and technical methods.

[3] As a comparatively trivial instance of perfect artistry notice the phrase of Milton,—"the quiet and still air of delightful studies." (*Reason of Church Government*, Introduction, book i.) A lesser artist would have fallen into verse and have written "still and quiet air," but Milton saw the true climax from quiet to still.

of the artist. Moreover, to each particular art are its peculiar modes and forms of beauty and its peculiar technical requirements of the human body. Few, therefore, may rise to Art. Day after day, day and night, year upon year, the ideal and the performance consume the soul. The world is not merely careless of the artist, but essentially ignorant of him, blind to him.[1] The modern world requires every man to make a living, or to show cause or privilege to live without working for a living. With this, the world rests. The world (the age, the time), this world of the present passing economic régime, is not concerned with Art: ours is no time of cathedral-building. What few pageants we have pass and are forgotten; our world-expositions are confessedly ephemeral; our operas, our picture-galleries, our tapestries, our ceremonies are for the few. Yet Art is eternal, universal, public. And Art endures and conquers in the good and proper fullness of time that shields, sanctifies, and saves all truth.

Of "the masterless man," "afflicted with the magic of the necessary words" that "become alive and walk up and down in the hearts of all hearers," Kipling has said that "there is no room for pity, for mercy, for respect, for fear, or even for loyalty between man and his fellow man when the record of the tribe comes to be written." "It must satisfy alike the keenest vanity and the deepest self-knowledge of the present; it must satisfy also the most shameless curiosity of the future." "By the light of his words, our children will judge us"; and we all desire beyond everything else "to stand well with our children."[2]

[1] "William Dean Howells said to me, 'The artist, the only person in the world who is in the right, is made by our social system the only person who is in the wrong.'" Du Bois, "A Student of Drawing," *Quarterly Illustrator*, 1894, p. 183.

[2] Address, Royal Academy, May 7, 1906, London. Report, *N. Y. Sun*.

The man who intends to become supreme in his art aims at nothing less than perfection, knowing that this alone can never be surpassed, and desiring it partly because it is unattainable. Life, health, pleasure, property, family, become to him, at most, but as means to his end, at worst, as nothing. He has some thing, perhaps many things, to express; and in getting this thing out of himself, in a perfect mode or form, he comes to see the real world as a spectacle, the ideal world as real. Then does the artist often commit what seem to the common world terrible offenses; and so they would be in common men. He has (or he thinks that he has) a message to give, a thought to create into an object, an emotion to teach for the social harmony; and because of the burden, he goes roughshod about the world, or shrinks into solitude, or becomes intoxicated with the idea and wanders gently about, dissipating time and attention and energy, until in the great appointed hour, the whole, formed, illumined, vital, is ready to be said or sung or painted or built in the open world.

Art is a tyrant; the artist is a slave. One art requires the organic training of every limb, of eye and ear and touch, — the art of music upon the great reed-organ of orchestral power and choral beauty. Art is a taskmaster; the artist is a workman under bonds. He who would master the art of painting must begin in his youth to portray the appearance of things and to project upon paper or canvas forms of beauty evolved in imagination or fancy. The price of sensitiveness to beauty is continual hearkening with obedience.

There are many arts, general and special. The arts are beyond and above the sciences and cannot be scientifically classified and ranked. The sciences themselves weave their edges together, for who shall say where biology ends and psychology begins? Shall sociology, economics, political science, ethics, or jurisprudence

answer the question, To whom of right does ground-rent belong?[1] Similarly, the arts may coalesce. Is the song-writer musician or poet? Ruskin has explained eloquently the fine distinctions between outline, light and shade, color, form, and substance. Potter or sculptor, athlete or acrobat, physician or surgeon, pianist or organist, politician or statesman, writer or orator, novelist or essayist, poet or dramatist, the artist may die not knowing to which art he would owe his posthumous fame.

Art finds its origin in love of the beautiful, goes to work, acquires efficiency, at last finds expression. Of any particular example of this art, the most that the artist can say is that it expresses his ideal well enough for him not to desire to work longer upon it. He knows that no work of art can ever be perfect.

Art never originates in anything else than in a passion to express completely the idea at work in the soul; therefore, the artistic is the truthful made orderly, peaceful, and general. Art can never be evaluated in terms of anything else. It is incommensurate with time, with labor, with pain, with pleasure, with property, with money. Art is worth everything or nothing. A work of art has no value because it cost this or that in education, labor, materials, self-denial, time to produce. It has no economic value even in relation to other works of art, though it has many other values, historical, cultural, critical, moral. The world of art is a world by itself. It is the supreme objective product of man because it is his essence.[2]

The artisan is the man who has not risen above efficiency in his work. This may be due to various causes:

[1] Certain Western States make homesteads exempt from debt. None yet grant and guarantee homesteads to all. It is no more right to bargain for homestead land than for slaves. Patten, *New Basis of Civilization*, p. 152. This proposition to place homestead land *extra commercium* is discussed at length in Pollock, *The Land Laws*, chapter vii.

[2] "Art is man's nature." Boswell, *Life of Johnson*.

he may not sufficiently love beauty, he may work for the reward, he may be on the road to Art, but may not yet have reached its first gate, which is self-effacement; he may have been prevented from journeying farther and may have been forced to remain an artisan.

The true artist, whether he be poor or rich, is none the less a resident in the palace of life. He who carves wood well, makes it tell a story, may earn less money than his brother the carpenter; but he may not take his brother with him into the palace. It may, indeed, be well with all the workers in houses and barns, in fields and mines, in shops and mills. Every genuine work that sustains life — life physical or psychical, individual or social — is good. Art is the second power of work. It issues from work of sufficient intelligence and devotion, because God has so made man that such work delivers his deeper nature from its imprisonment in circumstance. To him who desires to become an artist, the command is simple: Work in the faith that the end crowns all genuine, competent work. Whether the work be genuine depends upon the desire and the devotion, which are, we believe, somewhat within the control of the workman; but whether the work be competent, or will become competent, depends upon the intellect, which is with the Maker of the workman.[1] If the work be not competent, if it can never become competent, the workman does not know it, for the self-criticism that tells one of his failure also conditions and forwards his success. The man with the instinct for the work that is to lead him to Art, "the capacity for taking infinite pains," knows at the outset clearly and simply that he must acquire the method of Art, the historical, and the general, if possible, the universal method. He obeys this knowledge by studying the

[1] "Intellect is not a power, but an instrument worked by forces behind it. Reason is an eye through which desires look." Spencer, *Social Statics*, 1851, p. 350.

methods of other artists, the best artists known to him. He realizes fully that "individuality of method is but the effort of ignorance to imagine what has not been learned."[1] True art is without individuality, the work alone exists and delights, not merely because the artist was self-forgetful when he wrought the work, but also because he had long ago discarded his own individual notions and opinions, seeking only and always the best, the most general, the ideal.

The working efficiency that is the material of artistic skill may express itself in unremitting daily industry or in periods of excessive effort alternating with longer or shorter periods of exhaustion, rest, and recuperation. But it can never be developed late in life. When developed in youth in certain modes and expended in certain directions, in manhood it may be transformed to other modes and set in other directions. Like electricity, it may drive machinery, produce light and heat, or transmit messages; but also like electricity it must be itself produced or induced. Art finds its origin, therefore, in the release of the primal energy of the soul. Education must effect such a release, and must effect it while muscles and nerves and brain-cells are in process of formation, organization, and correlation.

Americans and Englishmen might well learn of the French, the Italians, the Germans, the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Hindoos that Art lends beauty to life.[2] Art is to life what the sky is to the earth. This truth has a very practical bearing. The joy in beauty continues unceasingly and renews itself by contemplation of the beautiful object. God made the human soul upon this fashion. The more a workman seeks to find beauty in his work, to make every product an art-product, the happier

[1] Fromentin, *Old Masters of Belgium and Holland*, p. 177.

[2] "The environment transforms the animal, while man transforms the environment." Ward, *Psychic Factors in Civilization*, p. 257.

he is, for he is helping to fill the world with beauty and is filling his own memory with images of beauty. The *finis* of art would be a world made wholly beautiful.

We cannot make American automobiles so good as the French, for one clear reason. Our mechanics work for wages, our engineers work for salaries, and our business men work for profits. The machine to be made is a means to the end. The French work for wages, for salaries, and for profits that they may go on making better and better machines. Each nation gets what it desires, — we Americans the wealth, the French the delight in fine machinery. Neither really "competes" with the other. Each travels a different road; but each travels.

To our Art defectiveness, we are blind, and therefore indifferent. We sometimes mourn that this man or that has no knowledge of history or of literature. Less often we charge his failure in life to inefficiency. Once in a while, we speak of one as law-honest, controlled only by conventional morals, having no genuine appreciation of general and essential morals. But with all our social self-criticism we seem to agree that to expect any one not a "professor" to know anything scientifically, or any one not an "artist" to be able to make any object of art, or even to appreciate the object, is beyond common sense or discernible reason. Nor have we seriously or otherwise proposed this to ourselves, that it is our duty to society, to mankind, to the nation, and to each individual man to make of him, if we and he together can achieve this, a man of scientific knowledge, or, still better, of artistic power. We do not feel the beauty or sincerity or other value of what art we see; we do not feel the truth or meaning or other value of what science we discern; and having no feelings for the realities, we can have no desires for their presence or increase except in so far as perhaps we have inherited from nobler ancestors the

instincts for the beautiful or for the simply true.[1] As for women, one who struggles out of the social quicksand and reaches the solid ground of science or the free water of Art must do so by her own strength, aided perhaps by some sister or brother scientist or artist, but derided and impeded by society.

It is so all over Europe? It has been so in all ages? By no manner of means. Hitherto the great civilizations, as far as their institutions have permitted, have always rejoiced to help the ambitious and consecrated man or woman. Western Europe still rejoices in the strength and zeal of the young. We present a curious anomaly. Our institutions are far more favorable to the rise of youth of talent and energy; but, save in isolated communities, we are dead to the glory of the only true aristocracy, that of worth. The more honor and the more gratitude, therefore, to those few communities and individual men that have forwarded the progress of youth in Science or in Art.

However, the need is too great for individual or even community endeavor. The entire force of public and private education and culture ought to be directed toward producing as many as possible true scientists and artists, that the nation may be wise and the land be filled with the beauty of sincere and complete truth. Such truth must include the life of human emotion as well as of pure thought. Life as a whole resembles the architectonic grandeur of the musical orchestra or the architectonic complexity of the theatrical drama, — architectonic because it includes so many arts. Pictures, vistas, panoramas are swept across the vision of the soul; and the soul responds with sentiments, emotions, despairs, and

[1] Spencer was substantially, though not universally, correct when he said: "Desires are cravings for the return to consciousness of real feelings." *Principles of Psychology*, pp. 126, 273. We have never experienced these real feelings of music, of poetry, or of other arts.

ecstasies. These states and conditions of the soul Art crystallizes in a melody, a symphony, an opera, a poem, a drama, a painting, a sculpture, a story, a novel, a design, an essay, — whatever form the artist who conceives the thought afresh finds his hand or voice or imagination ready to execute. Therefore truth in Art is the thing as the artist sees it, and seeing re-creates.

The worlds of Science, Art, and Philosophy are all democracies. No man can say that it is greater or higher or profounder to discover a truth in geology than in zoölogy, in economics than in mathematics. At present a particular science may appear to be a *cul de sac;* a day later there may open out from it a wide avenue into the universe. Nor may any one safely predict when or where or by whom the new way shall appear. There are, however, at particular times, correlations, inclusions, exclusions, limits, disputed fields, that later may be changed but now are very real. Of the arts also, no man may safely predict what developments the future has in store.

Art is democratic. No man may rightly say that a thing of beauty in one particular art is more beautiful than a thing of beauty in some other art. A poem as an art product does not transcend a cathedral; or an opera, a drama; or a statue, a painting. One may indeed be more important than another because at present it concerns more persons or more important persons; but Giotto who built the tower sits in Art with Longfellow who wrote the sonnet: —

> How many lives, made beautiful and sweet
> By self-devotion and by self-restraint,
> Whose pleasure is to run without complaint
> On unknown errands of the Paraclete,
> Wanting the reverence of unshodden feet,
> Fail of the nimbus which the artists paint
> Around the shining forehead of the saint,
> And are in their completeness incomplete!

In the old Tuscan town stands Giotto's tower
The lily of Florence blossoming in stone, —
A vision, a delight, and a desire, —
The builder's perfect and centennial flower,
That in the night of ages bloomed alone,
But wanting still the glory of the spire.

It is the technique in such art as this that conceals the art.

This technique includes skill and judgment in these several respects: The master-artist possesses his body in every part that is concerned with his art, and directs it as a whole and in each part concerned; therefore, he can do what he desires. This possession and this power of direction he secured by physical effort unremitted until the victory was won and his body was put under; and these he maintains by continued effort. He has won over into the field of consciousness his emotions, passions, and desires, rationalizing them only in part but understanding them as wholes. He knows his fundamental, original, primitive self. He has mastered the mechanical elements that concern his art, and all its tools and instruments and recording devices. By his technical art, he expresses only what he understands. He is, therefore, substantially in his creative moods the master of his soul as he is at all times master of his body. He has gone out into life, has observed the facts, has discovered and to a degree interpreted the events, and has taken the lessons thereof to heart, by feeling their reality, their nearness, their akinness to his own experiences. He has enlarged his personality into sociality and thereby absorbed society as far as he knows it.[1] He has found the way of escape out of his own introspectiveness into the objective world, can feel what another person might feel, achieves, it may be, various other personalities, and has forgotten the limitations of his own individuality.

[1] Norton, "The Intellectual Element in Music," *Studies in Philosophy and Psychology*.

He knows the achievement of other artists. Lastly, he has now the mastery of the essential things present in consciousness in these moods and holds to them, discarding the non-essentials. Thus physical control, psychical understanding, social truthfulness, imagination that bodies forth ideas as realities, and judgment that selects and discards, conspire to make the artist; but they cannot make the art-product.

What the artist of any kind produces will fall into one of two classes: art-products of the first class representing the syntheses of long reflective periods, maturing gradually in consecutive creative moods alternating with moods of reverie and criticism, and art-products of the second class representing the syntheses of sudden creative moods that are apparently accidental and uncaused. To the first class belong the architectonic displays characteristic of Angelo, Dante, Milton, Goethe, Beethoven; to the second, the sudden gusts of passionate art in Demosthenes, Byron, Poe, Heine. All the greater artists have achieved both kinds of success, — Shakespeare, Verestchagin, Wagner, Tennyson; but in various degrees. Can such power be taught? No; but if present, it can be inhibited, combined, saved, directed, utilized, and disciplined; and this process culminates in Art.

The triumphs of Art are higher than the triumphs of Science as such for several reasons: Art is a functioning of Science, a kind of higher applied Science, being impossible without Science; moreover, until Science finds a sufficient tool in some appropriate art-technic, it cannot accomplish its ends, nor does it convince the world until it has found some form or mode of art-expression; and Science in itself, being essentially intellectual, does not stir the souls of men as does the least of the arts — for every art is essentially affective and affectional. Art is magic, is miracle, is incomprehensible and incredible. We do not know it or believe it or understand it: we

obey. Art masters the souls of the sons of men because it has first mastered the soul of the artist. Art is surrender to motives, delight in absorption in ideals, conviction of values: it is delivery from chaos into cosmos, from the fleeting into the eternal, from the particular into the universal. We love Art because it embodies and visions forth the love that the artist felt in it. And this is the final test of pseudo-art, wherein it fails; that we regret its memory and resent its presence.

CHAPTER XVI

PHILOSOPHY

There is one only good, that is, knowledge; and one only evil, that is, ignorance. — DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Socrates*, xiv.

Philosophy is completely unified knowledge. — SPENCER, *First Principles*, part 2, chapter 1, § 37.

Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things. — PAUL, *Epistle to Phil.* iv, 8.

Thought takes man out of servitude into freedom. — EMERSON, "Fate," *Conduct of Life*.

By observation, one may acquire facts. By listening and by reading, one may receive facts. By study, one may organize facts into a body of knowledge. But the result of all the observation, reading, investigation, and consideration, of all the activity of the senses, the literacy, the diligence, the honest inquiry, the science, the art, and the knowledge of years of life may yet be disappointing, even disconcerting. The natural, or at least the logical, culmination of Intelligence is Science; of Efficiency, Art; of Morality, Philosophy. Science is the second power of Intelligence; Art, the second power of Efficiency; Philosophy, the second power of Morality. The experience that in thinking functions first as Intelligence by longer processes of the undiscovered essential spirit may function later as Science, whose substance is the ideal; the experience that in willing functions first as Efficiency by longer processes of the same spirit may function later as Art, whose substance is the motive; and the experience that in feeling functions first as Morality may function later as Philosophy, whose substance is the

intent. The mystery and miracle lie in the functioning, which some may perform but others may not, whose nature and essence are hidden in the spirit until man knows himself even as he is known. Culture itself, rightly considered, is but a higher, a sublimated stage of education. And the well-educated man does not rest content until his developed powers have borne the fruits of culture, which are Science, Art, and Philosophy. Education may be completed in adolescence; but culture, the refining of powers, the manifesting of results, the evidence that education has been worth while, is the occupation of manhood and the solace of old age.

It pleases the Creator of man to give him in youth a certain capital, greater or less, a certain number of talents. Of manhood, God requires the capital to be put to use. In old age, He asks an accounting.[1] It is well for us to accept the fact, to rejoice that the burden of responsibility does not grow heavier with each year of life. Neither youth nor manhood can dispassionately take toll of itself, for youth is full of hope that more power may yet be given, and manhood is busy with faithful discharging of its trusts. At last, however, in the normal life, not cut off before the second twilight, there comes old age, calmly; and its coming is welcome. Then man looks back and measures the track from dawn till dark. By this retrospect, life gathers to itself completeness.[2]

To the life-process, by which the soul of the human being comes to the only perfectness possible to the finite creature, the education-culture-process is closely analogous. For Philosophy, like old age, busies itself with retrospection and seeks harmony and reconciliation. And as, in old age, one who sees what he has done that he ought not to have done, and what he has not done that

[1] Parable of the talents. Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel*, xxv, 15–25.

[2] Shaler, *The Individual*, chapter x.

he ought to have done, comforts one's self with sorrow for errors and with faith that the great temporal world, which one is about to leave, will not miss one, so the philosopher who knows how great are the gaps in his knowledge, how prone to fallacies all his opinions are, how self-deceiving all his motives, comforts himself with the universal outlook. The philosopher — whether his life be mainly good or evil as others view it, whether he be Aristotle or Spinoza or Schopenhauer, historian, primitive ballad-singer, ruler, mechanic, farmer, man-in-the-street — seeks to order his knowledge in a system wherein the principles radiate outward from a central thesis with due rank of superiority and subordination. He knows how incomplete the system is, that indeed he can never complete it; but by means of the system, he is reconciled to life. Men differ not as beings with and beings without Philosophy, but as philosophers of various kinds, extents, and qualities. Ignorant men are not less but rather more prone to philosophizing than men of larger knowledge. They are quite as likely to arrive at items of real truth as are any other men (this is true empirically and also logically, for were it not true, then life would be both a deception and a wrong, and the giver of life entirely evil); but they cannot compass as great a round of truth. Therefore, their philosophical contribution to their fellow men is less. Moreover, there is but little likelihood that an ignorant man may discover any new truth, make any original or larger synthesis, or bring forth anything that shall be forever afterward indispensable to mankind. And yet in times past unlearned men have made such discoveries, for the human soul is not utterly dependent upon formal circumstance and opportunity for knowledge of the truth. Moses, Paul, and Kant asserted the original power of the soul to know the truth. It may be that knowledge of truth is as much a constituent part or form

of the immaterial soul as the soul is a constituent part or form of the material cells by which heredity flows from parents to child, in generation after generation. Certainly the power to recognize truth and the instinct for it are part and parcel of our common humanity.[1] Certainly the minds even of ignorant men revolve and try to resolve the problems and the principles of what world they know, meaning to find the heart of it, to make a universe of it. In such state, each man in his degree is a philosopher.[2]

It is not, however, with the natural, the seemingly inevitable, philosophies of ignorant or half-taught men that the science of education is concerned, but it is rather with historical philosophy and particularly with the highest philosophy to which man in the modern age has at last attained. This highest philosophy is by no means wholly modern: it is very largely the philosophy that has survived the academic discussions and the life-and-death conflicts of many ages and of many peoples. No summary of this final philosophy can be compassed in the pages of a brief chapter: nor is such a summary logically within the purview of this book. While in a certain sense, the educational ideals of the first round — Intelligency, Efficiency, and Morality — express themselves in concrete examples and are conditioned by such exemplification, the ideals of the second round — Science, Art, and Philosophy — are independent of particular instances and modes. Of the highest ideal in this cycle, Philosophy, this is true in nearly every sense, as appears in every definition of Philosophy. Let us call it "the science of sciences" or "theory of rational conduct" or

[1] "Two things fill the mind with ever-increasing awe and admiration: the starlit heavens above, and the moral law within." Kant, *Works* (Rosenkranz transl.), vol. viii, p. 312.

[2] This, of course, is the lesson taught by the novelists, conspicuously by Dickens, George Eliot, and Hawthorne.

"unitary view of knowledge" or "of the world" or "of life" or "system" or "history of pure thought," Philosophy is always incorporeal, remote from material things, and absorbed in the things that are spiritual, — that is, in the life beyond, above, and within living things. Science is content to search, to know, and to understand, Art to do, to make, and to appreciate; but Philosophy is content only to think, to feel, and to desire. Science is out in the world, Art is forthputting one's self into the world; but Philosophy is bringing back into one's self all that one may of the world of Nature and of Man. The philosophy that eventuates may hold that Nature transcends Man, produces and reduces him, or may hold, diametrically opposite, that Man conceives Nature, gives it the appearance of rationality, and endures before Nature was and after it shall have passed: whatever the opinion be, if it be able to render its reason, it is still Philosophy.

Because Philosophy is essentially the gathering and folding of the world into one's self, and, therefore, more purely human than Science or Art, it is both historical and personal. The wealth of one's philosophical treasures depends upon one's knowledge of the philosophies of men since they began to record and to display them; but to their possessor the value of these treasures depends upon his ability and inclination to use and to increase them by his own thinking. To say this is to say more than that the eye of the intellect sees in all objects what it brought with it the means of seeing,[1] for it includes more than seeing, — considering, rejecting, accepting, absorbing, utilizing, interpreting. And it is also to say more than that the content of the intellect comes from experience,[2] for it includes the contents of heart and of will also. There is an historical philosophy

[1] Carlyle, *Collected Works*, vol. v, p. 309 (now a very common observation).

[2] Caldwell, *Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance.*

that is contained in logic, in ethics, in metaphysics, and in poetry; and there is another historical philosophy incorporate in deeds, in institutions, and in customs. The books one may read, the deeds one must diligently and anxiously consider. The books are jewels; the deeds, metallic ores.

This folding of the world into one's self is the human quality that makes man what he is, an alien from all animals, a possible son of God upon earth. According to his disposition, this infolding induces in the individual philosopher his particular and characteristic mood; indeed, it converts his individuality into personality. For although personality transcends individuality, even transforming it, reducing (as it were) the various ores of the original soul, each to its pure metal, precious or base, overlaying the coarse with the fine, no man, whatever be his education, can go entirely free from the original heritage and bondage of temperament, disposition, and aptitude.[1] Whether for good or for ill, the past of heredity can never be wholly eradicated or converted. Regenerations are never original generations.

The individual gives to his philosophy the color of his own soul. The philosophy of no two men can ever be the same; at most, we are but sympathetic occupiers of similar grounds. As Plato interpreted Socrates, expressing, expanding, and expounding him, far beyond his own powers of self-revelation, as Fichte, Schleiermacher, Schelling, Hegel, and all the rest of the brood of the post-Kantians, without perfect agreement among themselves, developed, improved, corrected, and modified the master, none ever wholly agreeing with him, so all of us, whether empiricists, materialists, rationalists, monists, pluralists, naturalists, idealists, or anything and every-

1 "The biological origin of mind is a main avenue to the deeper secrets of the universe and of the futurity of man." Nichols, *Philosophical Review*, September, 1892, p. 534.

thing else at the same or at different times, disagree upon some articles of our particular faiths, as our lives or our words invariably show. And this color of the soul displays itself in contradictory ways. One man who is by nature gloomy becomes a disciple of the philosophy of fate because that doctrine comports with his own mood, fits him easily, interprets himself; while another of the same sad nature dons the garb of the absolute idealist, hoping against hope, as it were, that the natural man in him is entirely wrong, and that the will of the individual is kin and companion with the will of a gracious, personal, immanent God.

The same experience functions in one soul in one mode, in others in other modes. Yet civilization seems to induce persistently the mode of melancholy. "Every man hath evil enough of his own; and it is hard for a man to live soberly, temperately, and religiously; but when he hath parents and children, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies, buyers and sellers, lawyers and physicians, a family and a neighborhood, a king over him, or tenants under him, a bishop to rule in matters of government spiritual, and a people to be ruled by him in the affairs of their souls; then it is that every man dashes against another, and one relation requires what another desires; and when one speaks, another will contradict him; and that which is well spoken, is sometimes innocently mistaken, and that upon a good cause, produces an evil effect; and by these and ten thousand other concurrent causes, man is made more than most miserable." [1]

Intelligence, Efficiency, Morality; Science, Art: all these add knowledge or skill to man; but Philosophy adds nothing of either kind. One may study all the histories of philosophies and all the philosophies themselves (and, as has been said so emphatically, every philosopher must have his own philosophy); in the end, he will know nothing that he did not know before and

[1] Jeremy Taylor, *Works*, vol. ix, p. 316.

have no skill that he did not have before. And yet, paradoxical as it seems, unless he has been unable to apprehend them in the least particular, he is certain to be a different man, in the greater or less degree that marked his apprehension of philosophic truth, for Philosophy, though not constructive and certainly not destructive, is reconstructive. No philosophic truth ever was or can be new truth, ever did or can destroy any old truth. Thus, Philosophy has no war with Science or Religion or Art or Politics or any other systematic activity of man. The business of Philosophy is to evaluate all truths in the term of truth itself, to the extent that the philosopher himself knows it, — to collate, to arrange, to systematize, to interpret, and to appreciate them, — in order that the philosopher may possess a coherent, rational, truthful world of thought, of action, and of affection. Consequently, with every new truth acquired, the philosopher is obligated by his profession of philosophy, whether the profession be private only or both private and public, to square his philosophy again so that the new truth be orientated and correlated within the philosophy. And, therefore, it follows that the man with a mind wide open to the world of reality never has a finished, final philosophy. Or, to put this conversely, a true philosophy is never complete; but like life itself forever changes and grows.

What of the foregoing is true regarding the philosophy of the individual as he proceeds through life is substantially true of Philosophy itself as a living body of thought. In the history of Philosophy, every truth and every opinion has had a place, a meaning, a value in philosophical progress. A sane man has never had a false philosophy: imperfection, incompleteness, let us say frankly, ignorance, — but not falsity, not even error without return, — has characterized the opinions of men regarding Nature, Being, Knowledge, Duty, Freedom, and Things-to-Come.

In other words, from Thales to the latest modern, Philosophy has advanced continuously and has widened immensely its line of march.[1]

To say this is, of course, to define somewhat my own position. Every philosophy, whether of Democritus or of Berkeley, is substantially true, is explicable in the light of the age, of the land, and of the quality of the particular philosopher declaring it. Moreover, when of sufficient importance to be considered by others, it has necessarily been incorporated in the content of historical philosophy. The reason is simple: human reason is one among all men, conditioning humanity. Otherwise, there can be no truth for all men, for most men, for some men, or for any man. No sane man can reason unreasonably, untruly, erroneously; but, of course, he may be wrong or imperfectly informed as to his data. To say this is not to juggle with the term sanity, but is to use it scientifically: since sanity is the power to reason correctly, which postulates correct reason as the common possession of humanity and truth as the certain attainment of reasoning men. We do, in fact, go even so far as to say that no one can reason wrongly, for that is nothing else than not reasoning at all. From this dialectic, which might, no doubt, be presented more in detail, the familiar conclusion of the text follows, that every individual philosophy has been a contribution, great or small, and never a detriment to the sum total of Philosophy. The extent of its contribution has been measured by its originality.

Every man tends to recapitulate the philosophy of the race unless he interferes with the natural process by reading philosophy. Such philosophy as springs from life in its course must of necessity be psychologically

[1] "Any one who is acquainted with the history of nineteenth century thinking would say that one of its great characteristic achievements is to have shown Nature to include both what was previously known as natural and what was previously known as spiritual." Caldwell, *Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance*, p. 23.

sound and historically uniform.[1] Of necessity, each man who faces life intelligently must ask the great questions, — Whence? Whither? Why? How? The forms and occasions of these questions differ, the substance is ever the same.[2] The answers also vary in their forms, though not in their content. But to reach the questions too early, to anticipate the anxieties of life before experience has given the facts and the skill required to endure them, to run where one should walk: this is to imperil sanity itself, as the suicide of many a young student so sadly testifies. Life itself in its haphazard too often forces us into unnatural positions with relations essentially incomprehensible to the insufficiently experienced.[3]

"Beware who ventureth," said Gilder of the sonnet, —

> "For like a fjord the narrow floor is laid
> Deep as mid ocean to the sheer mountain walls."

Such a sea is Philosophy, — a sea of every climate and of storm and calm. But the sea is for sailors only to live upon, to enjoy, to grow strong thereon. A single voyage, as the passenger of a book or two, is enough for most. For the rest of our philosophy, we content ourselves with the tidal inlets that cut into our lands and with the distilled waters that fall upon us gently in showers from the sky. The philosophy of the books is indeed often a bitter brine, — product as it is often of life in some narrow and peculiar reality. Life as a whole is not life as seen

[1] "The real philosopher ought not to be content with a view of the world that can be fully expressed in abstract conceptions." Caldwell, *Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance*, p. 127.

[2] "The individual now confronts the world with as pronounced a sense of wonder and of mystery as he did in the morning of creation." Caldwell, *Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance*, p. 20.

[3] This may be stated mechanically in the terms of sociology and of psychology: as sociology, in that the individual faces the problems of larger groups or different groups, not yet understood; and as psychology, in that he faces situations, before his soul, in motives, intellections, affections, intentions, and habits, is ready for them.

by this German mysogenic sensualist or that French decadent, nor even by philosophers generally (for Philosophers are but a class, and not the type, of humanity); but it is life seen by all men and women in all lands and ages, and this life is good and satisfying as its multiplication, extension, and intensification demonstrate to the observant.

Because in its natural course the philosophy of the individual repeats that of the race, the history of Philosophy and the study of comparative philosophy, which displays the stage attained by particular nations, take on compelling significance.

An extended review of the history of Philosophy would be disagreeable here to the common sense of the competent. It is enough to remind ourselves that Philosophy began with a naturalism that tried to construct a theogony to the end that man might relate himself wisely to the reality behind appearance and opinion. In other words, Primitive Religion was the mother of Philosophy; and Reason, seeking to understand the world, was its father. Conscience taught man reverence, reason led him to postulate purposiveness, and experience proved to him that the purposiveness was not the caprice of individual gods, but a universal plan. As the theologians had grown out of the priests, so physicians (physicists) were to grow out of theologians. School succeeded school, each learning from its predecessors and its rivals. Men discussed matter, change, permanence, elements, being, becoming, and anticipated many a principle of the modern sciences. Philosophy soon discovered itself as the crucible of all knowledge. Materialism arose to reveal and to offset spiritualism; and pluralism arose to explain monism. Methods of reasoning are developed and systematized; and we are able to isolate the principles of hypothesis, logic, dialectic, syllogism, induction. Space, time, motion, series, cause, quantity, quality, and relation are disclosed. Infinity and limitation, eternity and period are considered. Creation and destruction, life and death, society and the individual, one after another, present

themselves upon the philosophic stage. Man is learning himself, as a whole, and in detail. Knowledge and skepticism, truth and falsity, reason and sensation, God and man, soul and body, and many another antithesis furnish foci for the ellipse of thought. After several centuries, metaphysics comes to know itself and to cast out physics; and Philosophy assumes a superiority to Science never afterwards to be questioned in its own thought. Then Philosophy proper becomes critical; and symptoms of a new differentiation, that of psychology, appear. In Socrates and Plato, criticism and idealism, the assertion of morality *per se*, the assertion likewise of Philosophy as supreme, and the discovery of ideas as the true realities constitute Philosophy the guide of human life. For those who can understand, Philosophy has become forever the highest achievement of the mind of man. Aristotle demonstrates this by accomplishing the broadest and most original synthesis of knowledge ever attempted, not to say successfully carried out.

We are now upon the edges of the world-transformations by the Roman conquest, the Teutonic invasions, and the success of Christianity. Philosophic progress, like all progress, flows with many windings, often subterraneously in darkness. Men inquire whether life is worth living, how to make it tolerable, how to get the greatest happiness out of it, what is pleasure, what is truth, what is virtue. Polytheism, pantheism, theism, supernaturalism, agnosticism: each goes into the battle, and truth organizes victory. Stoicism confronted the world of politics; but the Caesars represented laws and forces triumphant at certain stages in every civilization known to history. The truth in stoicism is eternal, rises again and again, and endures. Men inquired whether speculation is not useless and patient obedience to Nature the one duty. From Rome, the centre of Philosophy moved to Alexandria; and Hellenism sought reconciliation with Judaism. Into that struggle of thought, monotheistic Christianity, with its dogma of the Son of God become man to save mankind and men, projected a new, a genuine, religion, an intense faith such as civilization had not known since Zeus ruled in Greece, Jupiter

in Rome, and Osiris in Egypt. Over against the Utopia of the Stoa for the solace of the wise and the great, was the Kingdom of God, preached by Jesus and Paul, for the comforting of the ignorant and the humble. Eclecticism, Gnosticism, Neo-Platonism, Buddhism, mysticism, rationalism, theurgy, fill the minds of philosophers and overflow upon their parchments. The world that Parmenides thought to resolve into simplicity itself has become complicated beyond the power of reason to resolve: the question, Can God communicate with man? baffles Philosophy. The doctrine of the *Logos* is revived, the Christian world recovers Plato and later discovers Aristotle, who for a thousand years is accounted "the philosopher." In that "long waste of years" until Descartes, the philosophic world debated over realism and nominalism (that is, idealism and materialism), over every theological doctrine, from the nature of God to the method of redemption. Asceticism, imperialism, revelation, determinism, nature, freedom of the will, innate ideas, theosophy, a new skepticism, kept scholasticism busy through these centuries while other great questions slept. Then arose Giordano Bruno to set Philosophy once more free from Religion as Socrates had set it free two thousand years before; and to die as he had died, because State and Church were one and politics and religion indistinguishable. He took his first principle from the new physics: God is *natura naturans*, and the world *natura naturata*. God is the universe transcending the world of space and of time. After the Italian came an Englishman, Francis Bacon, discoverer and expounder of a method, the relation of Science to Metaphysics. Descartes discovered the question and answer, reviving for metaphysics the certainty of Science. "I believe that I may know," said the Scholastics. "I doubt that I may know," queried Descartes, to reply, "I think, that is, I am." Thus, the world of Philosophy found a central sun of certain knowledge about which to revolve. Spinoza, Leibnitz, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Fichte, Comte, Hegel, Darwin, Spencer, with their respective pantheistic, atomistic, idealistic, critical, rational, positivistic, scientific, monistic, evolutionary, and synthetic philosophies, follow in

close succession, as nations, politics, and philosophies expand and multiply.[1]

Anthropomorphism — God in the image of man — is long since dead. Darwin has taught us the divine method of evolution by natural selection, and De Vries, the discoverer of new elementary species by mutation, has supplemented the doctrine of the origin of species by inherited small variations. Hall has demonstrated that the soul as well as the body is immensely old, a silent treasury of forgotten but ineradicable pasts. Whole departments have been established in philosophy, teleology, epistemology, ontology, ethics, metaphysics ; and psychology, integrated decades ago, is itself breaking up into genetic, physiological, intellectual departments, not long hence to be separate sciences. As for physics, matter has become force, centres of energy ; and physics (natural philosophy) has broken into a score of sciences. The early Hellenic philosophy nurtured every one of these modern sciences, from chemistry to sociology and from metaphysics to biology.

The old idea that it is worth while to know historical philosophy that one may appropriate its light for one's own pathway has broken down from several causes. The mass of it is beyond the powers and opportunities of most men to acquire ; the gist of it — the reasons and the conclusions — is all necessarily contained in the most recent modern philosophy ; the whole needlessly excites the soul by reviving what for most of us may well lie dead ; and the great questions have all been isolated and may be studied in their integrity, freed from the false issues of the outgrown past.[2]

What is worth while is familiarity with these questions and with their most profitable answers. This familiarity involves understanding certain terms : materialism,

[1] Cf. Harris, Address, *Social Culture in the Form of Education and Religion*, Congress of Arts and Sciences, St. Louis, 1904. [Rogers, ed.] Vol. viii, First Paper.

[2] Cf. Perry, *Approach to Philosophy*, of which this proposition is the thesis.

dogmatism, rationalism, idealism, pluralism, monism, determinism, reality, matter, force, will, reason, God, ego, Nature, voluntarism, morality, good, truth, beauty, love. The great questions are: Does God live in and love the world? Am I immortal? May I become so? Is will, reason, or emotion the dominant quality in God? in man? What is right? Does God transcend Nature? Is Nature or the universe God?[1] Is Nature primarily spiritual or mechanical? Is it possible to know goodness, truth, beauty? These questions take innumerable forms. Can man know anything? Yes, answered Descartes. What does this include? asked Kant. And modern Philosophy accepts his answer, which is that man can certainly know his own thought. "Nature," says one historian of Philosophy, "is an evolution, of which infinite Perfection is both the motive force and the highest goal."[2]

One who knows this philosophy, understanding the reasons for it, has attained almost the highest stage of which man is capable. He may not be able to express it adequately, perfectly, uniformly in his conduct, because practical life seeks but cannot fully realize its ideals; yet he has the possibility of reaching the highest stage. This possibility, this desire for perfection, this sense of imperfection glorifies the world about him and his own life also. As the universe dignifies each star and planet, so Philosophy dignifies mind and man. By its philosophy, every age stands or falls; by his philosophy, each man reveals himself to those who may understand.[3]

[1] "I have read somewhere that Philosophy has always been chiefly engaged with the inter-relations of God, Nature, and Man. The Greeks occupied themselves mainly with the relations between God and Nature, and dealt with Man separately." The Christian Church thought of God and Man and neglected Nature. Modern philosophers think of Man and Nature and cannot remember God. Ball, *History of Mathematics*, p. 281.

[2] Weber, translated by Thilly, *History of Philosophy*, p. 603.

[3] Cf. Horne, *Philosophy of Education*, p. 281.

In education and culture, therefore, the true function of Philosophy, the motive for its study, is the rationalizing of the individual by relating his thought to historical and contemporaneous thought, by balancing his idiosyncracy over against general humanity, by universalizing the man in the atmosphere of infinity, eternity, reasonable cause, of absolute duty to God, and of rational service to humanity. Thus conscience becomes intelligent, energetic, and sensitive; and the will-to-live is justified by knowledge of what is worth while and sweetened by love of fellow sojourners upon the world, scaffolded by time, space, cause, and every other of the present limitations of the soul in man.

For the categories of the human mind are in a sense limitations as he passes out of ignorance into the light. "There is no darkness but ignorance," said Shakespeare.[1] And we are as much puzzled in it as the Egyptians in their fog. But because of our effort to see light we cannot employ all our energy to see other things and phases of this universal world. To direct energy, to withhold its dissipation, is to limit it. Thus, the very development of our finiteness by directing it to ends fences it in with barriers; as we grow intense we withdraw our extensions of reverie, abstractedness, vague longings. The philosophy of this appears in the theory of education by knowledge incorporate in this inquiry into the theory of education. Knowledge as such, knowledge consisting of items stored in the memory, flitting about in consciousness, subject to sporadic, spontaneous, undesired recall, is of little direct use. In fact, as soon as such items of information, as we say, become so disciplined as to be of use, they become organized, systematized, and subject to intentional recollection. Mere information is one of the two "mothers" of interest in the human soul; the other is inherited instinct. It may be that only such

[1] *Twelfth Night*, Act iv, Scene ii.

information as supplies the demand of some instinct inherited as taste is found interesting. We may say that knowledge functions as interest, and that this functioning of knowledge is its lowest, most elementary mode of action. In its passive aspect, such informing knowledge is a form of thought; in its active aspect it is a mode of thinking. In respect to this matter, it is perfectly true that one may know too much for his own good, for one to whom the opportunities have come to observe and to read many things may be found in a condition of excessive mental dissipation. All his thinking will be peripheral.[1] The central consciousness is vague, extense, and unillumined. His thoughts radiate outward, not focally. In the process of gratification by being supplied with facts, interests function as desires, purposes, and judgments. It is at this point that man discovers his threefold nature, — emotion, conation, and intellection; heart, will, and intellect. All these are but attitudes or dispositions toward truth. Emotion accepts or believes truth and directs it internally; conation uses truth and exercises it externally; intellect confronts truth to know and to examine it. Desires and purposes, combining, function as motives. Desires and judgments, combining, function as ideals. Purposes and judgments, combining, function as intentions. Motives, ideals, and intentions, combining, function as habits; and habits, combining, function as character. Knowledge, then, functioning in its first power as judgment, becomes in its second power an ideal, and in its third a habit; and the habit, functioning as the fourth power (as it were) of knowledge, becomes the sense of duty or of necessity or of righteousness.

[1] He realizes too little the truth that "in comparison with our knowledge, Being is inexhaustible" (Höffding, *Problems of Philosophy*, p. 112), and in trying to exhaust the opportunities of learning the facts of Being wrecks knowledge itself by accumulating too much and constructing too little.

Knowledge functions, again, as desire; becomes intention; becomes habit; and blossoms as the sense of utility or of value or of goodness. Once more, knowledge functions as purpose; proceeds to judgment; is established as habit; and evolves finally as the sense of conduct or of decorum or of beauty. Thus by origination and process the right, the good, and the beautiful, — the true, the kind, the desirable, — derive in due order from knowledge, the form proper to mind, the food by which it grows from spirit into reality.

The sum of one's original instincts is one's temperament; the sum of one's interests is one's disposition. Infancy develops instincts and inhibits them; childhood develops interests and, by absorbing, outgrows them; youth develops desires, purposes, and judgments, and forgets them in the higher life of later adolescence, in which they reappear strengthened and glorified as motives, ideals, and intentions; maturity develops and systematizes habits, and old age summarizes them all as character, which is the true expression of wisdom, our personal solution of the problems of love and hate, of good and evil, the real form of the personal soul.

For instincts as compared with rationalized habits are as shapes compared with forms, and as acts compared with processes. Absolutely universal is the mission of mechanism; entirely subordinate to spirit is mechanism; but mechanism by removing obstructing shapes and by devising appropriate forms, by inhibiting bad acts and disciplining activity until it becomes due process and reliable conduct, delivers lawfully the spirit from bondage to license and proposes it as an integral, free soul, displaying character and ready for a better work, a harder discipline and, we may hope, a happier life later elsewhere.

CHAPTER XVII

HEALTH AND HOLINESS

So every spirit as it is most pure,
And hath in it the more of heavenly light,
So it the fairer body doth procure
To habit it, and it more fairly dight
With cheerful grace and amiable sight,
For of the soul the body form doth take.
SPENSER, *Hymn in Honor of Beauty.*

If we give more to the flesh than we ought, we nourish an enemy; if we give not to her necessity, we destroy a citizen. — SAINT GREGORY, Homilies, iii, *secund. parte Ezech.* (Quarles, *Emblems*, p. 51).

Mind makes the man, and our vigor is in our immortal soul. — OVID, *Metamorphoses*, xiii.

Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. — MATTHEW, *Gospel*, vii, 12, a saying of Jesus.

To be hale, healthy, whole is the greatest blessing in life. In civilization, health seems to be conditioned by intelligence, knowledge, ambition, and morality rather than to condition them; seems to be a result rather than primarily a cause. And for two reasons. In civilization, many physically unfit persons become parents. And civilization seems to wreck the health of very many. It is difficult to measure health and healthy persons quantitatively, statistically.

The truth may perhaps appear upon two investigations, one negative, the other by enumeration.

Whether born healthy or not, in civilization one may easily lose one's health because of lack of intelligence, as a child, by fault or deficiency of parents, as an adult, of one's own motion; bad or insufficient or irregular feeding, darkness of abode or working-place, bad air, dampness, excess of alcoholic drinks, or of tobacco, or of drugs, or of sexual gratification, deficiency of sleep,

inactivity of body, in short, failure to understand, by observation of others and by introspection of one's self, the relations of cause and effect. There are in civilized society but few persons who are strong, active, vital, healthy. Again, from sheer lack of knowledge, health may be wrecked by a single ignorant act or slowly exhausted by a series of acts. He who really knows human anatomy, physiology, and hygiene and the facts and principles of social hygiene, who can realize their truth and is willing to observe their lessons, may be able to remain well in civilization, which is the city. Even more. Unless born deformed or deranged, however weak one may be, one may win health, surprisingly good health, by accumulating physiological knowledge and obeying its teaching.[1] Nature means men to be well, strong, and active. But one may be intelligent and well informed, and yet weak or sickly, or as we often say "morbid," predisposed to disease and not combating the idea. It is necessary also to desire to be well. Herein the mind controls the body; not, indeed, to the extent of curing serious diseases, of healing broken bones, of immediately revolutionizing its structure and tissue. But as Nature does all vital things, quietly and in order, so does she assist the weak to grow well. Though as a race, as communities, as individuals, men do ten thousand things to offend the good mother of us all, she is still ever ready to forgive, provided we repent. The secret of ten thousand thousand miraculous "cures" lies in the cells that Nature is always glad to build anew, provided the organizing soul desires it. To the dipsomaniac, to the sex-pervert, to the hypochondriac, to the neurasthenic, Nature says: If you will but endure the agony of repentance, I will make you whole again. But all these may count for naught, — intellect, knowledge, ambition, — for the soul of the health of the body is the soul itself: let us call it

[1] e. g. the famous old book, *How to Get Strong*, by Blaikie.

prosaically "sound morals." One may so sin against Nature or against man as not to care to get well again in this life. Such an one desires surcease of sorrow in death. But the immoral do live long and prosper? A few, yes; but not many. "For the wages of sin is death." Man should live to be eighty or a hundred, as we all know. But the cemeteries are full of the graves of those who have died before their time; nor do the burial certificates tell the truth. In many cases, — shall I say two in three or nine in ten? — instead of "pneumonia," "consumption," "brain disease," "cholera infantum," and any other of the long and usually tragic list, — for the death of a man, like that of the animal, is usually a tragedy,[1] — should be written "a violation of the law of Nature." The pity of these early deaths, which cost the race so much, is that so many of them are the results of social rather than of personal immorality. They are the effect of the environment, the "fates," not the choices of the individuals destroyed.

Perhaps, in the mind of God, all sins are the result of such fate. Who is to hold the child of the slum guilty when he surrenders to drunkenness and lechery? Not he who never knew the slum. Who is to hold the child of the palace guilty when he surrenders to the dissipation and too often the sin of the society that bred him? Not he who never knew the palace. Who is to hold the child of the country suddenly exiled into the city responsible for the unmooring of conduct in that maze which must appear to him hysteria? Not he who never knew the exile and the ecstasy. We are not qualified to judge. We must, however, examine the record. Perhaps these immoralities, at least the personal immoralities, which destroy health, life, soul, are in some measure preventable by personal education.

We educate for law, for business, for teaching, for

[1] Burroughs, Long, Thompson-Seton all emphasize this fact.

"society," for carpentry, for forestry, and for what not, save for living. Why not educate for living? Why not educate for healthy physical living? Why not? The only reason is because we do not. And this, of course, is no reason at all — but a confession.

The essence of living is health; but in civilization health can seldom be attained or even maintained by direct effort. The first prerequisite to health is life itself; and in civilization one receives the means for life only by economic effort or by some form of gift from others. There are, it is true, many forms of economic effort that are directly favorable to health, — farm-labor, teaming, tracklaying, indeed, all manner of outdoor work and of muscular exertion. But by no means all modes of labor are favorable to health. Of the thirty million Americans over ten years of age now engaged in "gainful" occupations, a very considerable proportion are engaged upon such conditions of hours of services or of surroundings or of materials employed as are essentially injurious to health. The abnormally high death-rate of mankind is sufficient evidence of this.[1] And of these thirty million, many are sick persons who, if they work at all, should earn a sufficient surplus over bare cost of living to enable them to cultivate their health in hours and days when not at work. Of this, again, the death-rate is evidence that few actually do earn such a surplus.

In order, therefore, to remain or to become healthy in civilization, it is first necessary to obtain a livelihood — or, in other words, to find and to hold a place in the economic world, the world of dollars and cents, of payment for value received. This fact, this bitter fact of the world higher than and remote from primitive communal mankind, this fact of private property, work-for-wages, no-service-no-necessaries, work-or-freeze-and-starve-to-death,

[1] Of children condemned to certain kinds of labor, but one in three or four survives to manhood, as the unchallenged current statistics show.

may be the power that is driving the race forward by compelling effort all along the line; but nevertheless it is the power that hour by hour removes the invalid poor from the face of the green earth.

The view that "wealth is the siren that lures labor on"[1] is seen from the vantage-point of those whose food, shelter, clothing, and fuel are guaranteed, and is not discovered from the vantage-point of the multitudinous proletarians. The man who does not need to work for a living often does work for wealth; but he is not the typical man in a civilization wherein even the land to live on must be won at a price. Not the food lures, but the hunger drives, most men.

The city school superintendent must necessarily be familiar with the procession to the gates of death. Thither go the young babe whose parents were too poor to dare to send for the two-dollar-a-visit doctor until too late; the child whose bad teeth were extracted to avoid the costly services of the dentist; the child with poor eyes,— run over by car or wagon for want of proper glasses; the worn-out mother of a large family dead from underfeeding, undersleeping, overwork, and overworry; the father whose cough ran into consumption because he could not leave his indoor work[2] and let his children starve, but whose children nevertheless do starve when he is gone; and all the other victims of the competition for employment.

But granted good health at birth and sufficient clothing, shelter, and fuel until manhood, in civilization health is not yet assured. Many things are necessary to render this blessing secure against the forces tending to its destruction. Disease is evidence of hygienic sin, not conclusive evidence, to be sure, but presumptive. And death before old age, unless by accident, is overwhelming evidence. For the man who has lived with some regard for the laws of Nature may be ill because of a lapse in hygienic

[1] Clark, *Philosophy of Wealth*, p. 25.

[2] Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*; Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children*.

morals; yet he will not die. His vital reserve, the bank account with which the good Mother endowed him in the womb, will meet the draft. But he who has often sinned with or without punishment is certain some day to overdraw that account. Nature means men to resist the microbes of tuberculosis and of pneumonia and the acids of rheumatism. The purpose of oxygen and of sleep is to burn up waste tissue and to eliminate the poisons of fatigue and of infection. He who breathes an abundance of good air, drinks enough water to flood his system, takes enough exercise to vitalize his tissues, and sleeps long enough to clear his body is not likely to "die before his time:" yet most men and women do die for want of these simple virtues.

In respect to health, there is, however, no need of experiment, no need of ignorance, no need of hypothetical theorizing. Consequently, there is no personal excuse for hygienic sinfulness unless there is cause beyond personal control. For in respect to health, we owe absolute obedience to Nature within the limits of our opportunities and heritage. We owe, therefore, definite consideration of the facts and principles of physiology, which we should study as a science, and of hygiene, which we should practice as an art, in order that we may know what the commands of Nature are. By such care, we fit ourselves to live healthily in the sorry maze of this difficult civilization. But such care only the privileged few may exercise.

To go free in the world, to be able to take in lungfuls of air, to enjoy work, care, and even anxiety, to eat with good cheer and to sleep in peace, to feel that life is a play of the spirit rather than a labor of the flesh, to be strong enough, and to dare to look every other human being in the eye, to be unafraid in the crowd or in solitude, to know and to feel, love and pity and reverence: this it is to be whole, to be healthy. To achieve this, and

to express it, it is often necessary to undergo a severe regimen and even surgical operations in order to correct the ills of inheritance and the injuries of poverty in childhood and youth. To be willing to undergo these remedial measures requires intelligence and character beyond most youth. As long as we inherit spinal curvatures, eyes defective in vision or in external muscular accommodation, bad teeth or the conditions that produce these; as long as parents persist in drinking too much alcohol, or in smoking or chewing too much tobacco, or in sexual excess, or in overwork and undersleep; as long as ignorance, fraud, and previous poverty, the three causes of all present poverty, endure; as long as luxury ruins the few and poverty injures the many,—so long will most children be born too weak in will to win health out of their weakness or wickedness or evil fate. But some will strive, and a few will succeed. One who has transformed invalidism into health is more likely to use that health well than another to whom health was given. Democracy is founded upon the doctrine that one who wins power is far more fit to wield it than one who inherits power. So with health.

But health is not only a matter of body and of will. It is also a matter of work, of work exalted to art, of work exulting in strength and skill and become play, the free adventure of the spirit creating things or performing services. In all ages, labor, work, and service have been signs of the menial and degraded, and in all languages, the words indicating work, labor, and service have been ignominious and irritating; and for one sole reason,—they have designated the life-occupation of persons subjected to the will of superiors. The tendency of all such subjection has been to destroy the health of the body and the health of the soul. We have seen this in the extreme forms of plantation slavery, of mercenary soldiery, and of feudal serfdom. We see it now in the

extreme forms of wage-service in mines, in mills, in stores, in packing-houses, and in domestic employment. One of the chief purposes of intentional alcoholic intoxication and of sexual excess is to feel the ecstasy of relief from control by the will of others. This ecstasy mimics the joy of true health by causing in the soul a pseudo-euphoria; but it costs too dear because it short-circuits the long natural winding ascent right up the mountain-side of true health. Such as commit these excesses cut their way ruthlessly to results and lose all the education of passing wholly through each process. They cannot know what true manhood and womanhood are, what good life really contains and expresses.

Learning, doing, conduct, truth-seeking, love of beauty, and the search for wisdom are but the rungs of a ladder whose sides are health and creation. To get better, to grow stronger, in such phrases the soul speaks its desire for physical health. To imitate things and acts, to initiate, to invent, to create, in such phrases in ascending scale of aspirations, the soul speaks its desire for spiritual health. He is whole who in his originality is independent of physical and psychical conditions within himself; and this independence can be secured only by the long training that wins through self-mastery. The mastery of the world by understanding it, at best but partial, is little more than an incident in the process; as far as it is more than an incident, it is only a means. The frame of this world passes. Any other world, many another world, let us suppose, would serve as well as this in the schooling of the living soul.

As the educated man nears such perfection as is possible to the best of human beings, his desire and his power to discern and to produce the new and the perfect increases rapidly. The roll-call of the immortals, however, shows that each failed in greater or less degree completely to endure the processes of education and to

conform to its ideals, the greatest failing least, succeeding most.

It is perhaps as fanciful as it is accidental that in this text the ideals of education and of culture should appear to be seven in number. Ruskin likened seven ideals of architecture to seven lamps, after the fashion of the seven golden candlesticks seen by Saint John in apocalyptic vision.[1] These seven ideals appear like the seven stars of the same vision. We can never attain to them; but we may travel by their light to the desired haven. Pure intelligence, entire efficiency, sinless morality, all truth, immaterial beauty, errorless wisdom, perfect health: to not one of these, by no manner of means to all, may any human being attain. And yet by discipline, by unremitting effort, by information ever welcomed, by dream and by sacrifice, he may attain to the power to contribute something new and worth while in a form or by a mode agreeable to his fellow men. At every stage in the process, he may daily in greater or less measure, as he nears the goal in ever greater measure, repay to society the cost of his life. Not in selfishness or in pride will he win to that goal; but only in generous mood and in docility may he go forward, remembering that not the goal, but the journey, is his reward.

In this journey, he is seeking the perfection of which alone is the finite soul capable, holiness. From the heights of modern thought to which some have ascended by obeying the Master, it may be clearly seen that body and soul, intellect, heart, and will, matter and spirit are, for the purposes of the life-journey, of the world-schooling, inseparable. There is no dualism in righteousness. The physical life may be stainless, while the soul is suffused with passions: the man is unclean, imperfect, distraught, unholy. The spirit may be full of kindness

[1] Vide *Seven Lamps of Architecture*. Also, Osborn, "Seven Factors in Education," *Educational Review*, June, 1906.

toward others and of desire to grow into the light, while the body is weighted and warped by many a lust of the flesh: the man is unclean, imperfect, distraught, unholy. The dull and ignorant intellect blocks the strong will by inability to perform its purposes and baffles the kindest heart by perverting its impulses. The weak will undoes, retards, wrecks the plan of the keen intellect and the aspiration of the loving heart. One who sees and knows, who directs his course and holds to it firmly, may for want of affection, loyalty, or sympathy fail of that completeness, serenity, sanity which is holiness. These qualities, though distinguishable in the process of development, are inseparable in the final result.

Too long we have thought of health as a mere physical desideratum, as something incidental and not absolutely necessary; of holiness as a religious ideal, aside from the concerns of politics, business, education, culture, property, and family. We have allowed ourselves to think of holiness as a symptom of senility. True, it flowers in middle life and bears fruit in old age. In our best moments, we know that all the glory of a long life, the visible evidence that it has been well spent, is to wear the halo — to develop, as it were from the soul itself, the atmosphere — of holiness.

Of the old man and of the old woman, we love to think, we can scarcely prevent ourselves from thinking, in this one term, holiness. There is no higher praise than the comment, — a hale old man and good, his mind filled with pleasant memories, his soul serene with the consciousness of temptations resisted, obstacles overcome, and victory won. Because we think of the old in this one term, there is nothing whatever in all the world that so grieves the heart, confuses the intellect, and offends the will as to see an old man nearing the veiled gates, in decrepitude of body, dullness of intellect, mean, vicious, flooded with memories of defeats of the spirit.

Holiness is the character to be won in life by a good will toward life; and, therefore, it is the one highest ideal, the final outcome, of education.

Upon the old man, sitting apart quietly in the aloofness of old age, there seems to rest the blessedness of absolution from sins and sinfulness. Upon him has descended the last benediction of life, its extreme unction. He has made ready to be called away, upon his face is written expectancy of the call, and his manner reveals peace.[1] As for us who are younger travelers, we have yet to learn the patience and the faith of old age, the crowning age of life. We cannot bring ourselves to say that old age and death are the best blessings because the last; and yet we know and really believe that they are. For every man, we desire long life and a happy old age, and death not in sudden torment, but in quiet expiration of the breath. This desire is the keynote in which is pitched the song of our human life. Let me live as long as I may live honorably, that I may die regretted, but without regrets. The soldier who goes to battle for his country, the laborer who goes to work for his family, the wife, the teacher, the man of business and all others, one and all, offer the same human prayer.

[1] It is time to be old,
To take in sail: —
The god of bounds,
Who sets to seas a shore
Came to me in his fatal rounds,
And said, "No more!"
. . . . . .
As the bird trims her to the gale,
I trim myself to the storm of time,
I man the rudder, reef the sail,
Obey the voice at eve obeyed at prime:
"Lowly faithful, banish fear,
Right onward drive unharmed;
The port, well worth the cruise, is near,
And every wave is charmed."

Emerson, *Terminus*. Cf. Tennyson, *Crossing the Bar*.

"Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made:
Our times are in His hand
Who saith, 'A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor be afraid.'" [1]

Because life is sacred, death is likewise. The good old men and women see this sacredness in all relations and walks of life because they sit apart, conscious that they are near the gates of exit. To the toilers, an understanding is often denied. Life seems the cheapest of all commodities; and so it may be in the terms of business; but the good old man sees life in all its terms. He sees all life clearly, and he sees it whole. Not so with him who in old age has his gaze still riveted upon particular aims. Such an one becomes peculiarly horrible in his vice, whatever it be, — avarice, envy, drunkenness, lechery, lying, — and peculiarly pitiable in his weakness, whatever it be, — timidity, invalidism, indecision, vanity, impatience. To us, he seems to have made a failure of life, — though he may have won millions or fame or power, he has not gathered from life its fruit, which is preparedness to live again. Not he who in old age recounts his mistakes and exhausts his little strength in vain regrets, not he who boasts of his successes and wears himself out in vain mimicry of the efforts of his prime, but he who recognizes what is fit, as the pulse runs down and desire fails, and deports himself accordingly, honors human nature, and by his own life expresses its final glory.

[1] Browning, *Rabbi Ben Ezra.*

PART FIVE

MOTIVES AND VALUES IN EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

American scholarship, through its ministry in the universities, through its teachings and its teachers, is to remove the evil, to instruct the ignorant, to broaden the narrow, to elevate the low, and to transmute the brutal into the human, and the human into the divine. — THWING, *History of Higher Education in America*, p. 466.

CHAPTER XVIII

HABIT, CHANGE, AND ILLUSIONS OF CHANGE

The higher the mental grade of the organism and the more varied the conditions of its life, the greater is the balance of intelligence remaining beyond the period of youthful plasticity for further adaptation in adult life. — MORGAN, *Habit and Instinct*, p. 158.

To know the past is a duty; to be in touch with the present, an imperative necessity; to have constantly in mind the future, a privilege that will prove the source at once of comfort and of inspiration. — HARPER, *The Trend in Higher Education*: "The Old and the New," p. 119.

Through ages innumerable, we look back over an infinitely slow series of minute adjustments, — material undulations among individual molecules, mental discriminations of likenesses and of unlikenesses, — gradually and laboriously increasing the points of contact between the inner Life and the World environing, until at the critical moment evolution shifts to a higher plane and the nascent Human Soul reaches forth toward something akin to itself, not in the realm of fleeting phenomena, but in the Eternal Presence beyond. An internal adjustment was achieved in correspondence with an Unseen World; and man knew his essential kinship with the ever-living God. — FISKE, *Through Nature to God* (arranged from pp. 33, 188, 191).

HABIT, change, and illusions of change form the procession of the events of conscious life. Habits may be instinctive and congenital or acquired; but they are always automatic in their operation.[1] Changes may be accidental or voluntary; they may be either enforced by circumstances or originated in the choice of the individual. The greatest lives are those at once most controlled by choice and furnished with the most habits.[2] To acquire new habits and to eradicate older habits, which may or may not have been useful in their time, is as much the purpose of education as to control instinctive activities and already established habits.

"Communities," said Daniel Webster, "are responsible as well as individuals."[3] For communities are free

[1] Morgan, *Habit and Instinct*, p. 27.

[2] Baldwin, *Mental Development, Ethical and Social Interpretations*, p. 164.

[3] Vide *Bunker Hill Monument*, second oration.

to acquire habits, to make changes by choice, and to modify their characters in accordance with new truth. But the responsibility of the community, though vastly greater than that of the individual, is abstract and secondary, while that of the individual is primary and concrete. In a material sense, there is no such reality as a community: there is only an aggregation of individuals. Educating a community, enlightening, benefiting, informing, directing, degrading, debauching, robbing a community: each of these phrases is but a figure of speech. Yet within the figure of speech is an idea; and this idea is a reality of the spirit, a reality many times stronger than the reality of the human body of the individual.

By "consciousness of kind," to use the phrase of Giddings, groups, classes, societies, communities of men are brought together to reinforce their sense of likeness and agreement. The stranger introduced among associated men and the variant born within their number have but the choice, to agree or to oppose "the social mind." The history of these agreements and oppositions is the material for all sociologists, — Gumplowicz, Tardes, Le Bon, Spencer, Bosanquet, Giddings. This history contains the mechanical explanation of all wars, strifes, concords, councils, events, movements, since men first dwelt in villages by the ancient mid-earth sea.

The community moulds the individual even to the extent of transforming him into its own image, — unless he resists the process. Even so, it moulds him into its opposite. Thus, oppression produces the hero from among the meek oppressed; sordidness, the generous benefactor from among the sordid; and every evil and, alas! every good, its opposite. And why? Because humanity, seeking completeness and universality, is ready for every experiment and for every variation.

It is useless to try to understand the reason or the nature of many things. Before the final problems, the

human mind sinks abashed. Is this universe finite or infinite? If finite, is there an infinity of finite universes? How do other worlds differ from this? What am I? How does grass grow? What is evil? Why does the good God permit or cause it? Is He good? Is He omnipotent?[1] These and a thousand other questions that children ask, and we all ask, are useful only to stir the soul from self-content and to enforce the truth that the world is a school for education, not for acquiring final concrete knowledge. We can no more carry facts into the life beyond death than we can carry silver and gold.

These eternal questions have their greatest value in that they are not yet answered: therefore, they serve to stir the souls of the millions of each generation. The child discovers them; and wonders. Each new question is to him a new mountain-top with vaster outlook upon life. Each one of us, over and over again, rediscovers them when facing new vistas of experience. In a sense it is the same with the petty questions of life that may be answered. We think that we have gained new wisdom when very often we did the same thing in the same way with the same contentment, last year, ten years ago.

Before birth, as Lotze remarked half a century ago, there proceed astonishing, unaccountable physical changes, — recapitulations of the past, vital experiments, outlived or abandoned, — whose issue is the new-born babe, prepared to live in the air upon the surface of the earth, eager to grow in bulk many times and in strength yet more, but never to change greatly in any essential feature save in that which is to be associated psychically with the new birth twelve or fourteen years afterwards. Before that new birth of puberty into adolescence, there proceed

[1] God is perfect. The Universe is in progress. Who can resolve this antinomy? God is infinite. Man is finite. Who can reconcile these incommensurate truths? Cf. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason* (Watson, transl.), p. 115.

other and still more astonishing changes in the soul. When we remember that one babe in five is still-born or dies within ten days after birth, and that two in five die within a year of birth,[1] we can see how severe Nature's first examination is.[2] Yet no child of normal mentality ever goes insane. Tyler calls adolescence "Nature's second examination."[3] Not only is it accompanied by insanity, but the entire sex-life, both physical and psychical, seems to constitute a predisposition to insanity and to suicide. Before adolescence, sex is quiescent, prepotent rather than potent, discoverable rather than aggressive. Before adolescence, the boy and the girl display racial, ancestral, ancient heredities. In adolescence, more immediate paternal and maternal traits struggle for mastery, the boy trying to put off the general human qualities and to devote himself to what is typically manly and the girl to become womanly. Often it is a battle royal. Of the changes proceeding now, few are illusory; most, indeed, are more serious, more recreative, more profound than they seem, cutting clean into the marrow of life.

Stronger than the habits of communities, far stronger than the habits of individuals, are the habits of the social institutions, which indeed, when cross-sectioned at any particular time, appear to be all habits, pure conventions without any voluntary intellectual processes. This, too, is illusion.[4] One who imagines that the social institutions

[1] Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, p. 10, and authorities cited, *passim*.

[2] A test vitiated, of course, by the factor of the economic opportunity of the parents to provide food, medicine, nursing, etc., adequately.

[3] *Growth and Education*.

[4] "Doctrines vanish without a direct assault; they change in sympathy with a change in apparently remote departments of inquiry; superstitions, apparently suppressed, break out anew in slightly modified shapes; and we discover that a phase of thought that we had imagined to involve a new departure is but a superficial modification in an old order of ideas." Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 3.

are permanent and changeless is deceived as much as one who imagines himself a voluntary agent, freely choosing and changing his course in life. The working doctrines of Property and of Family, the basic theory of what the State is and for what it is, the conception of what Business may rightly undertake, the very psychology of the race changed when a man could no longer give his own body as pledge for a debt. These all will change again when a man cannot give the homestead of his Family as a pledge for debt.[1]

For ideas construct, destroy, and reconstruct the world. The notion that men are the sons of God and therefore equal brothers has overthrown monarchy and aristocracy, established democracy, severed Church and State, and subordinated religion to politics.[2] It will yet establish equality of opportunity in economic affairs and make education and culture the chief business of life. To use the phrases of Lord Acton, it has been "a doctrine laden with storm and havoc," and is "the secret essence of the Rights of Man and the indestructible soul of revolution." It will make impossible starvation in the midst of plenty and ignorance in the midst of knowledge.[3]

In its degree, every idea, great and little, is a trans-

[1] Fixing the individual family to the land is the first duty of the State, and being fixed to the land somewhere is the first duty of the adult man: — propositions that transcend in importance any and all others now being considered in civilization.

[2] Acton, *The Study of History*, p. 17.

[3] Such starvation is unknown among savages; it began with barbarism. "Labor or starve, though there is abundance for all; labor for the privilege of bread," was the cry of kings and of nobles, founded aristocracies, monarchies, autocracies, of every kind, founds a possible plutocracy now. Our various social institutions are incomplete in number and in function because they permit wrongs now that once could not be, — social wrongs which show that society is not yet self-conscious and therefore cannot be just. The fancy that strong men will not labor unless they must (a contradiction in terms, for strength loves work) is no defense of the poverty of children and of the aged, of the invalid and of the ignorant, no defense, but a confession of the incompleteness of civilization.

former of habits and a converter of wills. And yet in individuals, in communities, in the institutions of society, habits have been, are, and forever will be nearly all of life. The human body in its myriad processes, the human soul with its fathomless memories, the human crowd with its intricate maze of opinions, the social institution with as many historical origins as a mighty river has tributaries and sources, could not be operated from moment to moment by independent acts of will. Therefore the past lives in the present, and indeed is nearly all of the present.[1] What we in our pride call "the present," "modern times," "the new idea," is but the edge of the difference by which the limits of a particular recent past and of the now are parted. The sum of these differences through the ages is vast. I and my ancestor of ten thousand years ago would find our thoughts incommunicable and one another incomprehensible. I and one who has grown in entirely different surroundings from different ancestry may find ourselves complementary and agreeable, or we may find ourselves so antagonistic that our only relief from the strain of juxtaposition is battle. Two likenesses and two differences unite me with and divide me from my fellows. What I know and desire that he does not know or desire, and what he knows and desires that I do not know or desire, set us over against one another. The masses of similar knowledge and opinion and the forces of similar habits and motives bring us together. We may associate for mutual help because of our differences; we may collide and struggle; or we may part in peace: but we may never be of one and the same mind.

From the separation of men by differences in ideas, this age apparently suffers less than any other because of certain of our inventions, of our discoveries, and of

[1] Mitchell, *The Past in the Present;* Kirkpatrick, *Fundamentals of Child Study: Instincts.*

our social institutions. Type, press, mail, periodicals, books, typewriters, telegraph, telephone, school, library, university, theatre, opera, church, lodge, ballot, council, legislature, horse, bicycle, automobile, electric railway, steam railroad, lecture, mill, factory, mine, store, office building, — all conspire to acquaint men with common ideas and to train them in common habits. Yet the separation is greater in reality than in appearance, because men differ from the extreme of many opportunities to get knowledge to the extreme of none, and from the extreme of surpassing ability applied industriously to great opportunities to the extreme of dullness indifferent to small opportunity. In ideas and habits, Cæsar differed not more from the Roman slave than Grant differed from the American slave.

One man looks out upon the world and sees particular things in isolation, sees fragments, not wholes; another looks out and sees the same things in their modern comparative relations to groups, communities, social institutions, and also in their historical relations, knowing the stages and processes and motives by which they have come to be what they are. One has all the instincts, intuitions, innate ideas, categories, grounds of sufficient reason that the other has; but the first exhausts his resources in the simpler psychological processes of sensation, perception, memory, while the other, without fatigue, runs all the gamut of thought. The latter understands, can stand up under, the burden of knowledge, bearing it easily, moving it freely. Such were Kepler, Newton, Leibnitz, Comte, Helmholtz, Spencer, Darwin, Agassiz. And such, as Plato taught, should be the rulers of men, because they are their leaders.[1]

For several reasons, the School does not respond readily to new truths, is peculiarly conservative of the past, is governed by habits that have perhaps been discarded

[1] *The Republic; The Laws.*

years ago by adult men living in the modern regions of the world. To an exposition of the first reason, the foregoing passages of the present chapter have been devoted. Every social institution changes slowly, painfully, reluctantly. Property, Family, Church change even less than does the School. Every particular family, church, school has its own traditions and customs that give it a characteristic atmosphere. The new member usually surrenders soon to its ideas and sentiments. But the cultural, the political, and the economic institutions change more freely. The reason is not far to seek. Most of them are as yet in the processes of formation; and, therefore, they best display the activities of the modern age.

In the School, kinesis proceeds slowly because of certain characteristics peculiar to it. The School like the Protestant Church has passed over into the mood, if not the actual control, of women. Even the Catholic Church finds most of its workers and active members among women. That woman is more conservative than man is a commonplace of psychology. Nearly all the actual teachers of the classes of pupils of elementary schools in the cities, towns, and villages are women.

The textbook is a factor making for conservatism. The history of the publication of new truth is this. It is discovered and discussed. Accounts appear in monographs. Synthetic minds incorporate in treatises the teachings of the monographs. University lecturers study the treatises and expound them in their class-rooms. Their pedagogical disciples finally present these views in practical texts, which the boys and girls study. Even in an age of steam-power and of rapid printing, the process takes a generation when no controversy delays the progress of the new idea within the schools.[1] Sometimes, for want of controversy, the new truth is ignored and almost forgotten.

[1] Le Bon, *The Psychology of Socialism, passim.*

Another factor making for the undue preservation of the past in the education of the present is the persistence of men of average talent and of gentle character in the few positions not occupied by women. Though teaching is still the most attractive, honorable, and dignified, if not the most lucrative, of all the vocations open to women, it is by no means so in the case of men. But men of average talent and of amiable character are not the leaders of the race, the builders of institutions, and the reformers of society.

Still another factor is the undue importance of laymen in the political offices that control the public school and as patrons of the private school. The layman and the laywoman remember their own educational experience and, of course, have no adequate knowledge of professional progress since they went to school. Sometimes, these lay persons are discontented with their own schooling and desire something better for the children of the present generation. But these instances are few. Only men and women either of unusual natural gifts of mind or of later and larger educational advantages ever know that the educational processes by which they came to be what they are may not be the best possible processes. It is as hard for a man to imagine what he would have been if he had been instructed by different teachers as it is for him to imagine what he would have been if he had been born of different parents. He is as incredulous, even as scornful, of the one idea as of the other.

Again, many of the teachers and some of the supervisory force are really but lay persons, often without even a veneer of professional knowledge.

Unfortunately, these several factors conspire together, — the strong-willed, ill-informed layman confronts the lonely, gentle schoolmaster and the crowd of schoolmistresses and overcomes them often by his very faults.

Another factor is poverty. Changes in schoolhouse

architecture and increase in equipment, changes in text-books and additions to grounds, and improvement and enlargement of faculty, cost money. They involve diversion of wealth from present habitual uses to new uses: whether to do this and how best to do this require consideration, consideration requires time, and the time of the lay ruler is worth money, and he refuses to give the thought required to understand the situation.

Apparently, for the maintenance of the past in the present and for the shutting-out of the new with the blind or necessary continuance of the old, a vicious circle has been established. This is certainly true in the case of the public school.

CHAPTER XIX

MOTIVES AND VALUES OF SUBJECTS

The first and last and closest trial question to any living creature is: What do you like? Tell me what you like, and I will tell you what you are. — RUSKIN, *Crown of Wild Olive.*

The knowledge that will hold good in working, cleave thou to that, for Nature herself accredits that, says Yea to that. Properly thou hast no other knowledge but what thou hast got by working: the rest is all a hypothesis of knowledge; a thing to be argued of in schools, a thing floating in the clouds, in endless logic-vortices, till we try it and fix it. — CARLYLE, *Essay on Labor*, p. 185.

The natural desire to learn about the things with which one has relationships we call interest: it is the signboard pointing the direction in which education must proceed. — O'SHEA, *Education as Adjustment*, p. 151 (abridged).

AN enumeration by title of the educational and cultural subjects and systems of exercises in the schools, colleges, and universities would fill many pages of this book. Even by groups the list is long, — mathematics, languages, histories, athletics, gymnastics, calisthenics, literatures, sciences, arts, philosophies. Of modern culture, it is not possible for any one to know much: it is too vast and profound. It becomes, therefore, perforce desirable to evaluate the various forms and modes of culture in order to pursue those which are most profitable. This evaluation, however, postulates knowledge of all culture.

Such knowledge is not merely beyond attainment, but beyond aspiration. "I have taken," said Bacon, "all learning as my province." No philosopher could say that to-day. At most, he says that since the human soul works in one way in a certain subject, it must work in the same way in all other subjects of the same type. His problem is now simplified; and he must inquire only as to the number of types of subjects and exercises, and as to the method of the soul in each particular type of subject or

exercise. Since the highest ideal of education is to attain health of mind and of body, and since health is an ever-present need and desideratum, every exercise, study, method, device, apparatus, and programme must be evaluated in its terms. Health lost is death, and health being lost is disease. Therefore, every tendency toward disease must be corrected, and every temptation to it avoided. Similarly, since wisdom is an ideal of education, prior to health and essential to it, and since wisdom, which flowers in philosophy, is an ever-present need and desideratum, only less important than health, every study, exercise, apparatus, recreation, and interest must be evaluated in its terms. Wisdom is relative to tasks and opportunities. We have seen many a man a sage in a village and a fool in a city; careful with dollars, spendthrift with thousands; a good son, a bad father; clever in conversation, absurd in oratory; loyal as a citizen, traitor as a ruler; useful as a private, dangerous as a general; competent as clerk or salesman or mechanic, but soon bankrupt as an employer; a gratifying success as a student, but a total failure as professor or author or educator. Our American notion and custom, to promote to ever-larger fields, has wrecked many a promising life. The right of seniority to the more difficult "higher" task is only presumptive, not prescriptive. It is a conclusion of sound psychology that talent for great enterprises develops fast and is therefore recognizable early in life, that no man can be too wise for his task, and that only those with sufficient surplus of talent succeed upon promotion. This conclusion becomes a principle in the making of courses of study and of programmes. Similarly, since art and science are ideals of education, every study must be evaluated in their terms.

We must not allow ourselves to imagine that there is some radical difference between the two groups of ideals, — intelligence, efficiency, morality, and science,

art, philosophy. Obviously, the first three are qualities. Not so obviously but as truly the second three are qualities, as also are health and holiness. We shall not be successful in evaluating studies and exercises until this point is clear.

Science, Art, and Philosophy are not contents, materials, substantial truths or facts, but qualities of mind. A book of science does not contain science, but merely such a literary or pictorial record of science as an understanding mind can interpret and an efficient mind use. In short, the science in the book or for that matter in the laboratory or field is opaque, dead, useless. Otherwise, we could make any man a scientist by giving him books or tools. Of course, we know that this is utterly futile, we know that only a transforming mind can convert facts and exposition into science. Wherever the scientist goes, there goes science, which is nothing more or less than the power to observe accurately, to retain, to collate, to organize, to relate, and to understand facts and principles. Science is a method, not a body of knowledge. Every fact may be tested only to fail, every principle likewise, but science is only the more certain and useful.

Similarly, wherever the artist goes, there art goes. This also is method. A picture is not art, but only an example, a manifestation, a testimony of art. Art-products waste away; but the arts endure when the people continue to be artists. From this flows many a conclusion for the discerning.

And similarly there is no philosophy in books, though by a trope of speech we allow ourselves to say so. But we act upon the contrary, for we spend much time and some money trying to pass on from philosopher to philosopher the living word of philosophy. Otherwise, our professors of philosophy should resign their chairs and our thinkers cease their expositions; and we should direct the daily

newspapers to reprint Kant and Schopenhauer and Lotze and Hall from time to time and to print such new philosophies as seem expedient, that even the running man may read and be wise.

Science, Art, Philosophy, then, are mental qualities, whose development is a motive of the higher education, that is to say, of culture.[1] The notion that some special or concrete science or art or philosophy is to be acquired savors of sectarian theology, completely mistakes the catholic, the universal, nature of science, art, and philosophy, and, if followed out, ends in the *cul de sac* of authority. *Via* that route is neither progress nor freedom, but only finality, which is the death of the mind.

That every study must be evaluated in the terms of morality, of efficiency, and of intelligence has long been agreed as a matter of common sense. But such evaluations have been few and casual.

Observation is the pathway to Intelligence. Not to observe is the familiar pitiable condition of the intellectual idiot, the absolutely confined, private mind. To observation, Nature-study, geography, industrial art contribute freely. In observing, we must measure and count: to measuring, geometry contributes, and counting is the beginning of arithmetic. Very small children of normal mind are keen observers. At five or six years of age may properly begin for brief periods daily, but without periodic certainty, the formal training of the powers of observation. The fit materials are Nature, Art, and Number. But regimentation should not begin so early. Children of five years of age should not be required to go at a fixed hour daily five days in the week to school, with a fixed programme for forty weeks in the year. This is no child's garden, but the chain-gang drill, which

[1] "The standards of truth and the methods for its discovery must be revealed in and by the process of education." Butler, *The Meaning of Education*, p. 183.

by interfering with the irregular processes of the physical life of the child must stunt his body and stultify his mind. It does not follow that the kindergarten should be open but every other day in the week, or for mornings only. It does not follow that no child should attend for three or four hours daily, for (say) an average of four days in the week and for forty weeks in the year. But it does follow that no child should be required to be regular in attendance or to stay in the kindergarten five, three, or one hour after he comes. The entire value of observation-lessons at five or six years of age depends upon the interest aroused and upon their not affecting unfavorably the physical life. Such lessons may develop oases in the desert of the childish mind. But drill and regularity are likely to sweep the sands of the desert over every oasis.

An intelligence, quickened and informed by observation, is ready to short-circuit the road to knowledge by studying the records of facts in words; but is not ready until so quickened and informed; and if it is to remain quick and substantial, it must constantly observe throughout life. The motive in Nature-study is to acquire and to keep vital the sense of reality, which the babe does not possess at birth. To the infant, the world is "Maya," illusion. Under normal conditions, the normal infant removes to the gates of Paradise, but not beyond, at three or four years of age. The boy and the girl pass beyond the gates in adolescence or in early maturity, if ever. By virtue, they may keep the gates always open for return at will. The great restorative of the illusion is literature, and this is also the great interpretative of reality. The man who spends his life with books loses the sense of that reality which books can only interpret. The mind is quickened and informed by reading for its own sake, and by reading for the sake of the content to be acquired, — geography, arithmetic,

spelling, history, grammar, science. The reading itself exercises the powers of observation and of memory, and the content read exercises the powers of imagination, of apperception, of appreciation, of judgment, and of reason. It prepares for and is usually closely followed by such motor-activities as reading aloud, spelling orally or in writing, recitations and compositions in history, grammar, and science. These are not pure motor-activities, such as manual training and drawing, and therefore do not appeal so powerfully to the efficiency latent or patent and potent in children.

The babe begins to observe soon after birth, and at the same time begins to act. By his acts, he learns himself in respect to his body. Action is the beginning of efficiency. Before work is play; and after the work there should be play again. Not to be able to act, though able to observe, is the state of the imbecile. The soul needs to express itself in deeds, in things, — that is, in services and in production. Here enter games, "busy work," plays, saying, reading, and writing words, garden-making, tool-using. How the day of the six-year-old child should be spent in school, if at school at all, is already answered in thousands of schools with too great formality for me to add to the prescription. But a few things appear certain. Only the exceptionally strong and aggressive child should go to school, whether this be kindergarten or not, with any regularity; and none should go daily for weeks at a time. Compulsory attendance for children under nine is sinful, and every law for its enforcement daily is sure to ruin the generation victimized by it.[1] Again, the spirit of the kindergarten should prevail in every class until the children are nine

[1] The statement that "a child of six is better off at school than at home when the home is poverty-stricken" may be true: but this does not save the child; nor does it save civilization from its sin that any mother can be "poverty-stricken."

or ten years of age. There are two ideals, — intelligence through observation, reading, and expression in language, and efficiency through action and service, of which the first should control until the tenth year of age.

"No impression without expression" was once the watchword of progressive pedagogy: we know now that this was a catchword, deceptive and false to true psychology. In larger terms, we know that we may say truthfully that there is much intelligence without efficiency, but not the converse. Forever this sequence holds true:

Intelligence > Efficiency > Morality.

Unfortunately, in our schools we have given too little attention to the middle term. The motive in all recitations, exercises, games, compositions, products is not to inform or even to develop the intellect, and certainly not to get visible, measurable results, and by all means not to restrain and to destroy the will, but to give it outlet, to develop and to strengthen it. This motive, once understood, must transform many of the practices now common in American schooling, which term in truth has become offensive to many of the discerning, chiefly because of its confinement and devolution of the will. There is, of course, a certain restriction of the will that is merely direction of it and richly profitable; but among such profitable modes of direction should not be included imprisoning children for hours at a stretch in straitjacket school-desks, drills upon forms and modes after the content has been mastered and reasonable facility secured, and similar triumphs of the ignorant parsimony of adults over the natural exuberant vigor of children.

In the sixth year of the child's age, the star of another and third ideal has appeared above the horizon, morality. The little boy and girl at school are trying to learn how to live in society. It is true that they have

already learned how to live fairly well in the family where morality begins in reverence and duty to parents and in kindness to brothers and sisters; but this family morality is not self-conscious, while school-morality, in order to be moral at all, must be to at least a slight degree introspective and self-understanding. The morality of precept is of but little value; only the morality of experience enlightened by that consideration of the self-conscious soul which we call conscience is able to carry itself well in the conflicts of the world, in even the little conflicts of the school-world of the child. Morality begins, then, with thoughtfulness regarding one's duties and relations to the world of Nature and of humanity. All this world is symbolized, in its mystery and in its certainty alike, by the idea of God. From the autocracy of the mother or father in the home to the hierarchy of the school is a difficult transition for the child. Combined as it is with the discovery of a world of strangers, the transition often presents situations that baffle the little child. Already, however, he has learned not only to obey but also "to try to be good," which is the efficient motive in all morality. This motive of the will necessitates also the intellectual effort to understand what is good and the emotional appreciation of the good. Not to rise to this motive, not to be evolved sufficiently to will the good, is arrest of development in moral idiocy, a condition unfortunately too often to be diagnosed in our people to-day to warrant contentment with American morals.

To go out from the home into the school is for the child the discovery of a new world of morals, whose two great virtues are obedience to teachers and honor among mates. The obedience to teachers may develop into impersonal duty to laws and ordinances; and the loyalty to comrades may develop into social morality. As the years pass, the child grows into the youth by absorbing the life of others into his own thought and by directing

his own conduct in relation to others. All the morality thus acquired is practical; but the opportunity of the child in school does not end with efficient morality but extends to theoretical morals.

Faithfulness in study, deliberate attention to instruction, persistent exclusion of the outside interests of the moment and of other occasions and relations: these are matters not so much of the intellect or even of the heart as of the will. To think as directed at school is a moral duty. In this sense, he who learns to obey thereby learns to command, for such obedience is self-command without which to command others is impossible. There is, then, a moral principle that constitutes a true school motive, — the will must restrain itself sufficiently to wait for the light and then to follow it.

Shut within a room entirely dark and silent, with every wall, the ceiling, and the floor black, one is thrown upon one's self; it is a moment of mystery and searching. A spot of light appears, a sound is heard: how infallibly the eye fixes upon the light and will not be drawn away and the ear fixes upon the sound and cannot exclude it. As certainly as light commands the eye, which is made to see light and for nothing else, and as sound commands the ear, which is made to hear sound and for nothing else, so certainly does the right command the will, the good the heart, the true the intellect. But we know what light and sound are? and we cannot know what the right, the good, and the true are? Who knows the essence and the cause of light or of sound? Verily, even in the twentieth century in America, "we see as through a glass darkly," and we do not yet know what seeing really is.

By study and reading and information at school, the opportunity is afforded to learn in the concrete manners, customs, laws, and morals. Literature, history, and geography are the typical media for conveying these facts. The child or youth learns what the world is, what it contains, what it expresses. This "world" changes from

generation to generation and from land to land, for it is a thing of a particular space and of a particular time and of the particular person who sees it and of the particular mood in which he is at the time when he sees it. One motive, then, and a very important motive of these several school studies, is to learn morality of one's own times.

In this view, correct spelling is a moral duty. Both in its content and in its method, arithmetic teaches right and wrong. Legible handwriting becomes a moral obligation as certainly as rapid handwriting is evidence of efficiency.

The ascent to complete education may be likened to a spiral stairway, lit by the lamps of seven ideals, — intelligence, efficiency, morality, science, art, philosophy, holiness. Of these lamps, three light the first cycle of the pathway, — Intelligence, Efficiency, and Morality, — and three light the second cycle, — Science, Art, and Philosophy. Far above Intelligence, yet directly above it, shines the manyfold brighter light of Science; above Efficiency shines Art; and above Morality, Philosophy. Few may breathe the high mountain air of the second cycle.

The traveler up the ascent has always the light of three stars to guide his steps. In the kindergarten, Intelligence shines full upon him; but he sees also the rays of Efficiency and of Morality. It is the age of versatility, of flitting about. To see, to know, to understand is the master motive. Play leads to anticipations in which the imagination exults. At ten or twelve years of age, Efficiency shines in the zenith, bright as the sun. It is the age of drill and habituation for accuracy, for effort, and for facility. The motive should be a passion for skill. The will takes pride in its own voluntary subjection to habits. Self-control, won thereby, is the apotheosis of will, as wisdom is of intellect. Sixteen is the typical age of Morality. The soul has blossomed into life in the sun-

shine of society. God is discovered, and duty universalizes what has hitherto been but obedience to special persons and their orders and rules. Mere Intelligence has ceased to be a desideratum; but the star of Science shines upon the wider horizon. At twenty, the youth has risen to the levels of Science and has the visions of Art. Age now tells nothing exactly. At twenty-five, even earlier, the foregleams of Philosophy may be shining; yet the ascent to the high levels of Philosophy is usually but slowly won. To here and there one in a land, to now and then one in an age, it is given to know holiness; but the white star of this ideal shines for many who may see it only afar off. Figures of speech fail; concrete language fails; general abstract terms fail; and the very thought of man fails to express clearly the hope of perfection. As for the method, who is there that knows it? In the merciful providence of the God of all worlds, man has been granted a vision beyond his farthest reach, to lead him on, forever on. It may well be that whole worlds of experience — new senses, new powers of mind, altogether new tools and objects — are provided in life after life; and there are times when it appears that this must be so. As the child's dream of manhood, so may be man's dream of holiness, — for saints and other holy men have accounted themselves the most unworthy.

Upon this presentation, the motives and values of the conventional studies and exercises in education and culture reveal themselves with unwonted simplicity and clearness. Certain criticisms suggest themselves. The atmosphere becomes more free, the light grows stronger, the view widens. Utilities find their places. Something of new meaning confronts us; and we are awakened out of our traditions. It is an old world in a new guise. And yet there is really nothing new here. Philosophy has no new discoveries. It but harvests and markets the products of other efforts; if possible, of all effort.

Why educate? That the pupil in the school may attain intelligence, efficiency, morality, science, art, philosophy, health, and holiness. Why? Because these are the successively higher manifestations of life; and life alone warrants itself, is its own justification. Moreover, life is its own method, and to him that hath life is given yet more life. How, then, shall we educate? By setting before ourselves and our children, in order, the opportunities and materials of life; by confronting ourselves and them with the necessity of exerting their powers of life. The school and college do this in orderly fashion: education therein is formal. In the world it is informal, save in so far as personal genetic physical and psychical change and growth formulates the education of every man whether he goes to school in his youth or not. The school is tempted to claim a great deal that mere growth gives.

The conventional studies and exercises and the studies and exercises that should be pursued are not the same. A study pursued by one method differs greatly from the same study pursued by a decidedly different method. Apparently belonging in the field of pedagogy, these two matters are of vital interest in educational philosophy and concern us here. We may believe that the chief end of education is utilitarian: that the youth may earn a livelihood and support a family, that certain truth and skill may endure in the world, or that the nation shall have a sufficiency of workers to maintain its life. Or we may believe that the chief end of education is to educate, that the youth shall have the most abundant life. We sometimes call this end cultural, but it is not that: rather it is something that may be properly styled only an end-in-itself, for it recognizes that the youth is his own end now and must forever be his own end. Life is self-sufficient, its own justification; and the value of each individual life depends upon the degree and measure and

quality in which it is life. One generation is as sacred as another; posterity is not nobler than ourselves, nor less noble. The entire chain partakes, link by link, of the divine metal of which it is made and of the divine fire by which it is shaped and welded.

By utility, we measure the conventional studies until there dawns upon our minds the sun of the eternal truth that we exist not for purposes but for life itself. In the light of this truth, we make new measurements, to discover that we must fashion once more the formal education of our youth.

The same general argument holds in respect to the methods of our various studies and exercises. The old school ideals — to read loudly and briskly, to cipher accurately and rapidly, to write legibly and handsomely, to sing enthusiastically in chorus, to draw true outlines in black and white, to parse correctly, to declaim set pieces unabashed, to know the hundred dates of American history and the thousand places of world-geography, to be punctual, persevering, regular, and obedient, and perhaps later to learn Latin, algebra, physics, rhetoric, world-history, and similar desiderata, ideals unfortunately attained by but a small portion of school attendants — are seen to reflect particular traditions and aspirations not organized into a philosophy and essentially incapable of reduction to scientific order, relation, and system. Subjected to our analysis, not one of them rises higher than the plane of science, and most of them are upon the lower levels of intelligence and efficiency. These ideals are not untrue but inadequate. Not one of them has the abstract dignity of art and of philosophy, but all are weighted with the concrete. A motive in each is the desire to appear well in the social world, and the value of success is to be well thought of. In this aspect, education is information to dress the naked soul. It is not strange, therefore, that many a man and woman, well

educated in these respects, has seemed but a shadow when measured against some solid native soul from the unschooled back country.

The true method for any and every study and exercise is of the same nature as the standard by which the content of the philosophically acceptable studies is measured and approved. Content and method are for the development of the soul stage by stage in intelligence, in efficiency, in morality, in science, in art, in philosophy, in health and holiness. Consequently, the true method is psychological; being also logical in respect to the subject or content only in so far as that material is itself truly psychological in its facts, forms, and order. Fantastic subjects and exercises, that evade or defy psychology, do not belong, are not in any sense permissible, in formal education. And this is equally true of fantastic methods and devices.

A method is always a way through, a highway (μετὰ ὁδός). It implies a straight road that reaches some goal. It may be defined as a line of orderly procedure to reach an end. Says Kant in the "Critique of Pure Reason," "Method is procedure according to principle." It is a universal procedure, — one for companions, one for all men. Method is truth presented in its own fit clarity. Strictly considered, "true" or "sound method" is a tautological phrase; and false or "unsound method" is a contradiction in terms. The teacher who has no method or so-called "false methods" cannot educate; and a body of knowledge or of practices not yet subjected to methodological criticism and organization is out of place in any educational curriculum, which should include only sciences, arts, and philosophy. Methodology is simply a phase of psychology. A method is always psychological.

Yet from various causes pseudo-methods abound in number and in injuriousness beyond the limits of this book

to record. They tend to destroy themselves, and, though constantly replaced, are individually but short-lived. A genuine science, art, or philosophy infolds a true method; and its method expresses its content of truth. The historical culture of mankind already includes an amplitude of methodized subjects for use in formal education. For the purposes of systematic information and discipline, the School and the College suffer from a profusion of scientific, æsthetic, and philosophical riches. He who knows a few perfect tools is an artist far superior in his achievements to one who uses many tools unskillfully. Too many tools are confusing.

The science of language is grammar, its art rhetoric. Magical language, expressing truth, beauty, goodness, wisdom, in the "necessary words," to quote the phrase of Kipling, is literature. Language and literature, — that is, grammar and rhetoric, in themselves, and truth, beauty, and goodness expressed in the modes and forms of grammar and rhetoric, constitute the most important tools in education. The chief output of the human mind, they are its largest expression. In its highest form, the art of poetry, literature becomes a medium of philosophy and of religion. Mastery of language and familiarity with literature, indissolubly one, is the first essential, the typical and most prominent formal and objectively apparent characteristic of a well-educated person. Of all the subjects used in systematic education, language and literature, giving content to the mind and voice to the soul, afford the widest range of material. They feed the intelligence of the child, stir him to efficiency, instruct and discipline him in morals. They are the medium for the propaganda of science; the indispensable mode and form for receiving and giving forth the products of the arts of oratory, poetry, prose, allying themselves to music with almost perfect intimacy; and reservoir and conduit of every kind of spiritual truth. It may not be said at what

stage language and literature most closely knit themselves to education; but it may be said that they are too much neglected at every stage, for neither is that child advanced in intelligence who cannot read and talk well nor is that adult scholar wise who despises the art of expressing thought in words.

The motive for the study of language, oral and written, is the desire to enter into the real, substantial, spiritual life of humanity, to know the divine in man, to feel and to express the soul. The unlettered child gazes at the printed word and feels that it conceals yet advertises a world at once mysterious to himself and precious to his elders; and altogether infinitely desirable, as indeed it is. In his earliest infancy, he had listened with equal eagerness to the sounds of human voices. In his latest age, his last conscious desire is the desire to know the meaning of words, to find the thought that others are expressing in them, and to express his own thought. He who acquires words afterwards thinks in them forever. They are the links of thought.

In importance the sound of words far exceeds their appearance in letters, written or printed. Phonics concern not merely the child in his effort to pronounce words, to associate their signs with their sounds; they concern also every one who converses, who writes prose, who composes verse, and who reads prose and verse. Our insensitiveness to the power and charm of good language, in particular of good English, is due largely to deafness to phonics, which in turn is due to our neglect of reading, conversation, and oratorical composition as arts, the supreme arts by which men relate themselves in thought to one another. The length, breadth, force, and tone of the vowels, the sharpness, smoothness, and intensity of the consonants, the coalescence of diphthongs, alliteration, and rhyme, meter and scansion, rate and variety of movement of syllables, of

words, of phrases, of clauses, of sentences, and of paragraphs, are one and all matters of no small concern to those who would convey and receive thought in its purity.

This thesis requires no demonstration. Two men may speak the same truth with equal logic; but if one be an artist in phonics and the other not, we listen to the first alone. In their degrees, all men are skillful or ignorant in making and in hearing the music of words. To Milton in poetry and to Webster in oratory, language was of organ-tones: to Shakespeare, it was orchestral. In Whitman, we hear the booming of the drum, in Wendell Phillips and in Tennyson the melody of the violin. In this poetic passage, the words by their sounds suggest time and travel, —

> "Across birth's hidden harbour bar,
> Past youth where shoreward shallows are,
> Through age that drives on toward the red
> Vast void of sunset hailed from far,
> To the equal waters of the dead;
> Save his own soul he hath no star,
> And sinks, except his own soul guide,
> Helmless in middle turn of tide."[1]

Contrast with these soothing lines, expressing perfectly the democracy of death, the individualism of life, the shocking sound of the speech of the wanton man-in-the-street who declares, "We 've got to go it alone through life. It 's all the same in death for the man who made good and for the man who welched." The poet sings, the uncouth philosopher screeches. Each message has the same weight and is apparently of the same value: but examined, the one is gold, the other brass. Our own poet Lowell was characteristically too much in earnest to pause for choosing the perfect word, and failed,

[1] Swinburne, *Songs before Sunrise*, p. 7.

therefore, to attain the heights of supreme art in verse. The famous lines

> "New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
> They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth,"

are cacophonous with their difficult vowels and numerous dentals and sibilants. Keats, Poe, Tennyson, or Swinburne loved their art too well to pass such lines.[1]

In language, we are concerned not only with the phonics but also with the associations of words. The Constitution of the United States has been styled the *magna carta* of our liberties. This means something to one who knows American history, colonial and national: but it means vastly more, intensely more to one who knows English, mediæval, and Roman history and law and comparative politics, because the words constitution, state, charter, liberty are keys to rich storehouses of knowledge. The artist in words knows how by choosing the right word to suggest outlines and colors for pictures to be composed by the imagination of the reader. The power of words is partly the power of their sounds, partly the weight of history and literature that they carry. What reader of the "Scarlet Letter" can ever again see that branded letter without thinking of Arthur Dimmesdale and of Hester? As Emerson and Trench and many others have pointed out, a word is often a poem, an immortal product of the creative imagination.

[1] Among several famous passages that challenge the world for supreme beauty, this may well be quoted: —

> "It was the lark, the herald of the morn,
> No nightingale: look, love, what envious streaks
> Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east:
> Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
> Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops."
>
> Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, iii, v.

The very word "poem" is itself an island in the current of historical philology.

And there is a fitness of the word to the idea that is apart from its phonics, from its historical and literary associations, and from its philology. The power to fit words to ideas is the hallmark of genius; it immortalizes men; it decides the crises of nations; it is the soul of literature. The fit word delights every one; it is so obvious, after it has been discovered and attached to the idea. The skill that finds this word seems a special gift of God: *fiat lux*. And we stand and marvel at the sudden shining of the light.

Grammar is to language what the intellect is to man. The motive for the study of grammar is a subordinate mode of the motive for the study of language and of literature. It is the desire to follow the process by which one's fellow men express themselves in language and to acquire skill in expressing one's self so accurately as to be understood by them with certainty. It is a social convention to call a particular kind of objects "food" and a particular kind of action "giving;" but it is necessary to follow these conventions in order to be understood when one says or hears, "the good man gives food to the hungry without asking whether or not they deserve to be hungry."[1] Similarly, it is social convention of several centuries that has constituted such a succession of words as grammar. To defy, to ignore, and not to know the conventions or principles of grammar are respectively immoral, insolent, and unfortunate.

The study of grammar belongs at a definite stage in the process of formal education. The ungrammatical may be intelligent and somewhat efficient; but they may never be wholly moral in the broadest sense of that term. They can never be, in any ordinary understanding of the term, scientific. The age devoted to the

[1] Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel*, vii, 1; xxv, 31–46.

development of efficiency and morality is from ten to sixteen; and it is in the latter half of this period that the systematic study of grammar properly belongs. Because grammar is a science,—a science indispensable to all other sciences, since we must think in words, if we are to cover much ground,—its study should be continued into the scientific period after sixteen years of age.

Higher than the science of grammar are the arts of rhetoric and poetry. To these, few ever attain. The imitative impulses of human youth often suggest the writing of essays, of stories, and of verses, and the effort of public debate; but it is not difficult to discern whether the product is or is not the preface to genuine art. The child or youth with the capacity to become an artist in words will set his own exercises and revise them for his own satisfaction: he will display initiative and conscience. For, in truth, there is nothing more false than to suppose that the motive of the literary art is self-exhibition. After that regeneration into the poetic artist, which Sterling pronounced necessary to the completion of the born poet,[1] he may desire that his expressed art-product be highly valued by his fellow men (for even Art is human); but no true artist ever produced a work primarily that it might be seen of men,—wherein Art manifests the modesty of religion. In its essence, every work of Art is self-caused: the great poem must be sung; the perfect statue must be carved; a living idea seeks a body and form in every art-product.

By art, the seed of an idea quickens into beauty.

Language, however, serves mankind beyond the ranges of science and of art. Wherever thought moves, there language seeks to move, for it is "the picture and counterpart of thought," as Mark Hopkins declared.[2] Without language, philosophy itself were not merely

[1] *Essays and Tales: Thoughts and Images.*

[2] *Williston Seminary*, Speech, 1841.

dumb, but must halt in painful vagueness and isolation in the mind of each several philosopher. Deprived of history and of conference, philosophy would wither and die. Poetry tries language sorely, hammers and exhausts it, finally compels it to shelter and enthrone truth in beauty ; but Philosophy does more. Philosophy requires language to image shadowy ideas and distant ideals, to run as swiftly and as surely as reason itself, and to deliver at the goal every part of the strange message. Fossil, crystal, mechanic, traditional, final, though language apparently is, Philosophy asks of it the flexibility, resourcefulness, vitality of living thought. And language wins its greatest victory in becoming the medium of that highest literature, which is Philosophy. In endeavoring to express the supreme ideal of mankind, language fails. Words cannot deliver or contain the full meaning of the revelation of righteousness, holiness, freedom, health, genius, perfection. By acts, Jesus expresses that ideal in love, which is the nature of God. For all the beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount, the Gospel was told not in words, but upon Calvary.

By language, we must understand all language, not only our native tongue. Indeed, it is by a variety of languages, and similarly in a variety of literatures, that man discovers his larger self in many individuals and societies, ancient and modern, neighboring and remote. The motive is removal to a different point of view ; and the values are two : that one learns new, different, and often strange facts, principles, and sentiments, and thereby enlarges himself ; and that one compares the old and the new, correlates ideas, cross-sections life, and thereby reviews and corrects himself. One ancient language, Latin, and one foreign language, German, mastered in their literatures, fill, develop, enlarge, and re-create the mind not by addition merely, not even as it were by multiplication, but by a subtle geometrical progression. Not surprising, therefore, is polyglottism, when Greek follows Latin

and Hebrew Greek, and French follows German, and Spanish, Italian, Russian follow French. If their literatures justified it, tens of thousands to-day would be studying Japanese and Chinese. For the permanence of Occidental morality, it is well that Oriental literatures are formal, superficial, artificial, and monotonous.

In educational value, the mathematics are only less important than the languages. Number, which counts things, is an indispensable tool of the active intelligence, —a tool used almost as early as the noun, which names things. The operation of numbers promotes efficiency. Arithmetic with its system of commercial and industrial applications is a highroad through the maze of social morals. Algebra, geometry, trigonometry, calculus, quaternions, dynamics, mechanics, statistics, and their correlates and extensions are the very forms of science and the modes of Art. And mathematics ends by founding in Philosophy the certitude that man seeks in the flux and illusion of spatial, temporal, and sequential affairs. As Descartes and Kant showed, mathematics is the πού στῷ of metaphysics.

Therefore, in a scientific age that seriously tries to evaluate and to utilize most advantageously the intellectual and moral resources of mankind, it is not strange that in government, in business, in education, the place of mathematics steadily grows. Essentially one of the sciences, it is so much more important than any other as to be classified apart popularly from all the others. Because as a science it is the basis of many others, such as physics and astronomy, in formal instruction we approach it first as a highroad into all science; but we fail to note that the desirableness of a special kind of knowledge and the feasibility of attaining it are by no means synchronous in psychical genetics. All education since its beginning has gone astray, and most education for centuries to come will go astray, wandering far from the path that with

certainty leads to perfection, wandering into sloughs and quicksands and upon barren hillsides, and losing most of the wanderers because of ignorance of the genetic order of mental functions. The nascent period of interest in the science of mathematics is not so early as most courses of study subsume. In childhood, we may learn many items of mathematics and drill ourselves in many processes; but the science and the art belong to youth. The information and the processes are matters of intelligence, efficiency, morality, for want of which many a man has served time in jail and penitentiary and many times more become parasite or vagabond; but the science and the art are not the avenues of approach for mathematics, but goals not visible before fourteen or fifteen years of age. For want of understanding this principle, school-children are set to work upon a special division of mathematics, the science of arithmetic, when they should be working on the elementary factors of all mathematics, which are number, magnitude, mechanical computation, observation, and invention. Indeed, our position in respect to the mathematics of the elementary school has been the illogical one of anticipating method before we have a content, and of anticipating science and art before we have facts and processes.

In mathematics, like children, we have expected results before inaugurating causes. Before the brain convolutions were entirely formed and long before the brain tissue has developed its organization, we have expected perfect habits of observing, of measuring, of computing, and of recording. We have supposed that efficiency comes forward *pari passu* with intelligence, as though whatever one understands one can do! We have insisted that correct figuring is a matter of morality, as it is, indeed, but only for those capable of uniformly correct figuring or, in other words, not for young children. Intimidated by the commercial forces that now rule

Western civilization and will ruin it, unless successfully resisted soon, educators attempt the impossible and in the attempt destroy the material upon which they work. Fortunately, Western civilization is not uniformly and perfectly accomplished everywhere in Europe and the Americas, and also, fortunately, childhood itself sometimes successfully resists; but "dropping out of school," the sad death-roll of education, is not the recovery of freedom to grow in the way Nature intends, but renunciation of the hope of attaining culture in the way man should intend for all.

The motive for the study of mathematics is insight into the nature of the universe. Stars and strata, heat and electricity, the laws and processes of becoming and of being, incorporate mathematical truths. If language imitates the voice of the Creator, revealing His heart, mathematics discloses His intellect, repeating the story of how things came into being. And the value of mathematics, appealing as it does to our energy and to our honor, to our desire to know the truth and thereby to live as of right in the household of God, is that it establishes us in larger and larger certainties. As literature develops emotion, understanding, and sympathy, so mathematics develops observation, imagination, the reason.

What is history? According to our answer, its place in education is fixed. Is it, as its philology suggests, truth determined by investigation?[1] Is it a fable cunningly agreed upon, as Voltaire said? Is it philosophy teaching by examples, as Dionysius held? Is it a pageant, as Birrell would have us believe?[2] Is it a record of progress, as proposed by German philosophers, — in particular, of freedom, as Hegel endeavored to show? Was Carlyle right in calling biography "the only true history"? Was Gibbon partly blind when he pronounced it "little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and

[1] *ἱστωρία*, a learning by inquiry. [2] *Obiter Dicta*, ii: Muse of History.

misfortunes of mankind"? Is it a science, as a modern school of historians would have us think? Is it, as Macaulay declared, "a compound of poetry and philosophy"?[1] Shelley called it "a cyclic poem."[2] Freeman asserted that it is "past politics." Seeley says it is a "residuum" after all the sciences have been abstracted from the total of human knowledge.[3] History has been styled "a thesaurus of the facts and opinions of the past," "a record of events that have affected the general welfare,"[4] "an interpretation of the social forces and movements,"[5] "a probably true prose narrative of past events," "a record of exceptional phenomena,"[6] or "everything that Nature is not."[7]

Claimed by literature, by philosophy, and by science, each denying the claims of the others, history is in some danger of being accounted but the rubbish-heap of the past, the débris of civilization. From Adams who pronounces it "the highest form of prose literature" to the scientific school in Europe and in America that proclaims it an accumulation of proven facts is indeed a very different direction from that by which we reach the scorners who reject history utterly; but, for educational purposes in the elementary schools, the one journey is as fatal as the other. If history is a science, it certainly does not belong in courses for children under fifteen years of age. If it is cunning fable, it belongs nowhere in education or in culture. "The past," however, says Lord Acton, "burdens, but knowledge of the past emancipates, us."[8] As a matter of common sense, we are likely to agree that history is not science, but a record

[1] *Essays: Hallam's Constitutional History.*
[2] Also Acton, *Study of History.*
[3] *Introduction to Political Science.*
[4] Chancellor, *The United States: A History*, vol. i.
[5] Mace, *Method in History.* [6] Ward, *Applied Sociology*, p. 234.
[7] Droysen, *Principles of History* (translated by Andrews).
[8] *Study of History*, p. 17.

and an interpretation of the materials of many sciences. One who has read Thucydides, Tacitus, Gibbon, Macaulay, and Parkman is not likely to dispute the proposition that the best history is at least fair literature.

Accepting these debatable premises, educators are likely to find a place in the school curriculum for history, with literature upon one side and geography upon the other. But this place, let it be clearly understood, is for history as a systematic literary account of the past of mankind upon earth, not for history as a science and not for it as a polemic, a fable, or a collection of *olla podrida*. Three principles that must be regarded in every method of history teaching are the time-perspective, the sequence of events, especially cause, crisis (issue), and result, and the *milieu* (environment, atmosphere, circumstance). The foci of interest for children in history are biography and action, and the ellipse evolved is drama or epic.

In the light of this discussion, it becomes clear that with history as such children have no concern until social morality begins to mean something to them. It is an advanced grammar-grade study for children not under thirteen years of age. The locus of real history is far above Morality, Science, and even Art, for history needs the light of Philosophy, and its method is not syllogistic or inductive or æsthetic, but dialectic, and its concern is with all the life of all mankind. More near the truth is it to say that history is at once a science, an art, and a philosophy; in other words, literature of the highest kind, that is derived from a science as exact as the materials permit to an art limited in its activity and range only by conviction of the truth, an art without fiction, portraying fact to its best advantage.

"History is Humanity's knowledge of itself, its certainty about itself, a search for light and truth, a sermon thereupon, and a consecration thereto."[1] But this

[1] Droysen, *Principles of History*, p. 49.

consecration is not purely or even mainly academic, as is that of philosophy, but it is practical, manifesting itself in councils of politics, in the battles on land and sea, in the factories and upon the farms of industry,— wherever men congregate and, by colliding, produce events.

The ego of the individual is poor, indeed; history is the way of escape out of that poverty. Whether we mean by history the real action in the material world or the written record, the historical motive is the same, to achieve oneness with humanity. The values of historical studies for those able to pursue them with understanding are two, — history lifts to ever wider horizons, and history persuades to action, while equipping the actor with wisdom how and when to act.

The data of the sciences may interest and concern the child; but the sciences themselves only frighten and worry him. Certain great intuitions, Space, Time, and Unvaried Sequence ("Cause and Effect"), he may suspect or even discover; but their manifoldness, their possibilities of discrete content, and their nature are beyond his vision. Ideas familiar as the light of common day to mature philosophers are not credible to him, not comprehensible, not visible, not conceivable, not even possible. This is not merely because the intermediating words are outside of his vocabulary, not merely because his sensations and cognitions are not yet the themes of his reflection, but it is because as yet he does not reflect, does not even construct in his imagination, and does not pause to inhibit and to consider. His sensational and emotional experiences proceed in constant succession without breaks, and thus fill his mind, overflow it, indeed. No day is so long as the day of the child; no man sees and "thinks," desires and feels, so many things. His mind, could an adult see it, would appear to be a chaos of business with accidental and not logical results. Similarly, the mind of the trained and educated adult would

appear to the child a mesh of tracks and signals, a bewilderment of mechanisms. As a garden run wild compares with a closely built city of streets and houses, so does the childish mind compare with the adult; the one teems and booms with life, the other is packed and agitated with things.

In a certain sense, order is the badge of senility, in that when one no longer generates ideas in profusion, he has time and feels an interest to husband the ideas that he has. Virile youth is too busy to fall a prey to habits. To the logical man of talents, matured and trained, all genius, whether of childhood or of manhood, appears dissipated, accidental, irrational, unnecessary, natural, without merit, and perilous to itself and dangerous to others, because genius is childishly profuse and careless. There are two kinds of precocity: one is early senility, the other is genius, and both threaten an untimely doom.

From all these considerations, one seems compelled to conclude that the sciences as such are not for the elementary school years. But equally it follows that childhood has a right to the materials of all the sciences. The birthplace and early home of every child should be in or near the open country,— field, forest, valley, wood, sky, air, water, birds, stones, flowers, beasts, bugs, sounds, smells, running, swimming, playing, hunting, fishing, working belong to childhood of immemorial right, nay, of everlasting right, since living creatures, our ancestors, first moved upon the lands or in the waters of the earth. The civilization of the city is a modern, shameless, unnoticed, malignant fraud upon childhood; seen in its true light, persisted in after its recognition as a fraud, the city appears malicious and dangerous. The city has properly three functions and three only: as exchange of goods, as treasury of the arts, and as headquarters of government. Every other function of man in society — rearing of

children, worship, education, manufacture, mining — belongs in the village or in the open country. History is a panorama that displays the destruction of peoples by their swarming in cities where the soul and the flesh of childhood bleach out, and where men and women fall afoul of one another and perish at once from luxury and from poverty, from crowding and from solitude, from overwork and from want of work. Of course, the city is not entirely bad; but the greater it is, the worse it is, from which one may not fail to see the conclusion. Twenty-two run together: it is football. A million: and it is stampede and slaughter.

For the child of the city, a mimic reproduction, a museum collection of the products of field and forest and shore, is as essential as are playground and gymnasium. These materials must furnish the data for all the sciences to come later, — for physics, chemistry, botany, zoölogy, biology, physiology, hygiene, anatomy, histology, ecology, entomology, anthropology, ethnology, mineralogy, geology, meteorology, astronomy, physiography, domestic and political economics, sociology, philology, government, statistics. Such a museum, as it were, may be afforded in connection with so-called Nature-study, with the pseudo-science of geography, and with the various subjects included in manual training. It must be no drawerful of things, or mere cabinet collection or wall decoration for assembly room or for hallway; but an ever-changing, ever-growing, constantly overflowing accumulation of every manner of things "animal, mineral, and vegetable." [1]

[1] This will cost money? Probably. In 1905, cigars cost American men $300,000,000; all forms of tobacco, $745,000,000. Pianos cost $50,000,000. Alcoholic drinks cost $1,550,000,000. School-books for 17,500,000 pupils cost $12,000,000; school supplies, $6,000,000. The army and navy cost $185,000,000, not including pensions, — $145,000,000 more. All forms of public and private education cost $290,000,000.

The motive for the study of the things of the real world, the data of science, is to know into what environment one has come "out of the everywhere into the here." Incidentally, such knowledge has two values: it promotes skill in self-preservation; and it lays foundations for later science. But its substantial value is in itself, for knowledge is, indeed, the furniture of the mind, which without knowledge is the bare habitation of every echoing, turbulent, destructive instinct and passion from all past ages. As Froude said, "Ignorance is the dominion of absurdity." [1]

Of the arts, their inappropriateness in the formal education of children is even more apparent than is the inappropriateness of the sciences. Our conclusion will be the same whether we accept the opinion of Mill that Art is based upon Science, or the more common opinion of such as Karslake that Science is higher than Art. Said Mill, "Art necessarily presupposes knowledge. In any but its infant state, Art presupposes scientific knowledge: and if every art does not bear the name of a science, it is only because several sciences are often necessary to form the groundwork of a single art." [2] Such an opinion, of course, subsumes certain definitions of Science and of Art. Mill had in mind clearly two grades of Art, for he expressed the dialectic that what Art does, Science collates and interprets, and then Art (higher Art, true Art), mastering the interpretation, produces with certainty. And he declared that Art selects for its rules the theorems of Science. The order of the rules of Art is by no means the order of the theorems of Science, for their use is entirely different. In the reason for the difference in their order lies the superiority of Art to Science. Art aims to produce perfection, to improve Nature, to create particular things that suggest universal principles. Art

[1] *Short Studies:* Party Politics.

[2] John Stuart Mill, *System of Logic*, Introduction.

is objective in its motive, subjective in its method. Science aims to derive from given particulars universal laws, to discover Nature, to know the imperfect. Science is subjective in its motive, desiring its own completeness, but objective in its method, living in the external world of reality. As self-direction is higher than self-consciousness, which is the highest reach of the highest science, psychology, so Art is higher than Science. But the Art of which this is true is not the mere art of doing.

There are many arts,— the fine arts, the applied arts, the mechanic arts, we say, but appropriate terms of grouping and of classification soon fail. We may group the sciences as *exact*, e. g. mathematics; as *physical*, e. g. chemistry; and as *natural*, e. g. biology; and feel that the grouping is fairly satisfactory.[1] But so much more elaborate are the arts than the sciences, and so much more numerous, that any grouping simple enough to serve a philosophical purpose is not distinct and complete enough to be absolutely true. In the manifoldness of modern civilization, the arts are multiplied. In music, which is itself an art, there are many coördinate arts, as of singing, of song-writing, of composition, of orchestration, of playing upon violin, upon flute, upon the organ; in painting, there are several arts; sculpture likewise; literature has poetry and prose, and both poetry and prose have several arts; statesmanship is an art, concerned with many particular arts, public and private; and teaching, learning; dancing, swimming; carpentry, iron-working, farming, gardening, tree-growing; preaching; journalism, editing; telegraphy, typewriting, bookkeeping; medicine, surgery, dentistry — these all are arts, but they are only a few of the many differing arts.

When we reflect upon the sciences and upon the arts, and consider them in reference to ourselves and to others, we discover an important fact: that no scientist and no

[1] Cf. Duncan, *The New Knowledge* (asserting the atom as all in all).

artist in these times comprehends or understands or scarcely appreciates the sum totals that we mean by Science and by Art.[1] Living humanity does not contain them, though possessing means of access to most of their truths and practices. For Science and Art are stored in books, in things, in the minds of millions of different men. They are the subject of oral traditions and of practical "object-lessons." Humanity, Science, Art: these are too varied and too vast to take form and body, for they suggest the infinite and the eternal.

With the arts of skillful performance of definite exercises the elementary school is concerned, but not with the art that is founded upon a science or upon several sciences. The lower and lesser arts are but successful examples of attained efficiency, and may properly occupy the attention of boys and girls before they are ten years old. In this sense, art is but joining together, as its philology indicates. The limitations of success in these childish efforts to draw, to sing, to play the violin, to weave, to make with tools, to cook, to sew, to play games, to make verses, to write compositions are two. Of these, the first is implicit, if not fully explicit, in this argument: the incapacity of the child to see much more than the special matter before him and even to hold this firmly in consciousness, that is, his incapacity to see a thing in its relations and therefore to know its value. A child may see truly, but seldom sees wholly. The second reason is that the realized psychical development of the child but reflects his physical state, which is still far from completion and perfection. Nerves and muscles do not yet coördinate; the very cells of the brain do not seem as yet to be constituted as a brain.

The physiologists tell us what our common experience confirms, that the accessory muscles are late in development and still later in control. The baby can walk long

[1] Lotze, *Microcosmus*, ii, 318 *et seq.*

before he can roll a pin between thumb and forefinger. The boy kicks a big football successfully years before he can catch the small baseball. Years before he can write well with a pen, he can pull an oar or grub with a hoe. The eye cannot be consistently accurate in childhood. Thus, all the physical conditions of perfection in true art are wanting in childhood; and we are in danger of trying to force an anticipation of mature skill that would wear out the very powers necessary to its development. Colors, masses, solids, sounds, tones, directions, forces, ideas, words, tools, processes, methods, devices, the discrete data of the arts, we indeed can teach in some measure successfully. Such data become nuclei of memory and interest, fountains of thought in the wilderness of childhood. As the wild profusion of childhood dries and dies until the adult mind often resembles a hot, windy desert, about the fountains of childish interest and skill grow the life-saving oases of true art. The boy who drew pictures becomes the painter or architect. The girl who wrote compositions becomes the novelist. It is in this sense that "genius, wanting art," is "forever dumb."[1] And it is in discursive, encyclopædic instruction in childhood and in youth in respect to the elements of the sciences and of the arts that the hope of educating the great genius lies, such a genius as conforms to that dictum of Ruskin: "That artist is greatest who has embodied, in the sum of his works, the greatest number of the greatest ideas."[2] The youth whose opportunities were really narrow (not merely so in appearance) can by no possibility even of regeneration grow into such largeness of mind and of soul as has been so clearly demonstrated in the case of William Shakespeare.[3] For the boy without education when a little child the hope is of

[1] Longfellow, *Kavanagh*, ch. 20.

[2] *Modern Painters*, part i, § i, ch. 2.

[3] Halleck, *Education of the Central Nervous System*.

intensity and integrity of genius rather than of extension and variety. We never outgrow our own childhood unless we become false to ourselves: we may and should grow out and around, above and beneath it: our true soul centres there.

As the motive of Science is truthfulness, for the motive of its substrate, intelligence, is to know facts; so the motive of Art is the facile and skillful production of beauty, æsthetic sense and æsthetic power, artistry, for the motive of its substrate, efficiency, is power to do or make or serve well. But Science and Art have values beyond the personal, values social, general, universal, eternal. They are the media by which mankind is coming into humanness and divineness: it is our faith that in Science God teaches men Truth, and in Art, Beauty. The scientist and the artist transcend their individuality and mortality and transmit the unseen infinite and eternal.

Athletics, gymnastics, calisthenics, dietetics, hygiene, sanitation, work and play: what shall we call all these together but the conditions and processes of health? We realize, all of us to a man realize, that health is the most important thing in life. But we neglect it, we even ruthlessly thrust it out of consideration. Why? Because as wisdom cannot be won by desire or conveyed by exhortation, but is the flower of a lifetime, so health in civilization is an end, not a means. It is, however, as an absolute, not as a relative term that we so regard health. An individual may be conceived as ill, as able-to-be-about, and as well. Normal growth from infancy to maturity, increase in height, in weight, in energy, in control, in activity, improvement in certainty, periodicity, and completeness of the processes of digestion, nutrition, excretion, sleep, sex-functioning after puberty, freedom from avoidable disease, exemption from contact with disease, progress toward perfect health, may indeed well be

considered as concurrent with the psychical chain represented by the links, Intelligence, Efficiency, Morality, Science, Art, Philosophy, Holiness. As with Science and Art, so with Health, only the itemized facts are conceivable and usable by the child. Moreover, as in their cases, so in that of physical culture, there is always danger of exceeding the limits of childhood and of youth and thus defeating the very purpose of such culture. Overdrill, overexertion, too much instruction in hygiene, and too complete and rigid conformance to the principles of sanitation in schoolhouse construction and in school administration, are, however, dangers very remote from ordinary public education. As we have failed to discover and to develop as yet a psychology of habit to match the psychology of function, so we have failed to discover and to develop a curriculum for the body to match that for the mind. In mental education, imitation and tradition avail much, because we learn by example of our superiors and from the successful precepts of the past; but in physical education we must deal with the body of the boy and of the girl, scientifically diagnosing, prognosing, and prescribing correctly, or we must not deal with it at all. This may seem mystery and paradox; but it is truth, nevertheless. "It is so easy to feel that our knowledge of the material world is simple, and our knowledge of moral obligation and of spiritual life a mere matter of opinion; but we must come to realize just the reverse."[1] Unlike philosophy, science has no power finally to solve difficulties: it merely shifts them deeper into the mystery. But in that shifting, it performs immense services to mankind, which may be temporary and individual or permanent and general. Why God permits conditions of poverty, ignorance, and crowding, in which some infants are born ill prepared for life, and other infants healthy at birth must inevitably deteriorate into anæmic, crippled,

[1] *Studies in Philosophy and Psychology:* Letter from Garman to Hall.

consumptive, and otherwise defective youth, science cannot answer, does not try to answer. Science, however, can relieve the special condition of the individual and can show how to reconstruct society so that the immediate causes of the general conditions may be removed. But the ultimate causes of poverty itself, which are ignorance and fraud and precedent poverty (a vicious circle, indeed), Science cannot remove, does not even consider.

Our very philosophy as regards the place of health in life and in education is at fault, as I have tried to show elsewhere. Not only do we look upon health as a means to the end of success in life, but we also fail to regard it as highly as we should; these two errors are essentially one. For health is not a means at all but an end-in-itself, to which most other forces and events in life are but means. When we have exalted health into the end that in truth it is, we shall be ready to arrange and to establish in education the means by which it may be secured.

These means are three: intellectual equipment for economic society so that by intelligent and efficient work, either as producer or as servant, one may obtain the necessaries of life; moral training so that one may take his place in society and maintain it peacefully; and physical training so that his body shall be strong, serviceable, and obedient. These means suggest the three methods to be followed in the formal system of education, in which they become not ends-in-themselves but intermediate processes, that is, educational ends. Such a discussion as is at once proposed is foreign to the purpose of this book; and it suffices to remark that a curriculum calculated to equip youth as valuable economic workers, whose comradeship in labor is acceptable to their fellow workers and calculated at the same time to develop in them all the physical energy and skill of which their bodies are capable, would be revolutionary,

because it would be radically different from all curricula now indorsed by public opinion.

The motive for the serious, systematic, scientific pursuit of health is beyond not only the conscience but also the intelligence of most men, because health itself as thus conceived is beyond their opportunity and their attention. He who labors unremittingly in adult life for the means of life for himself and his dependents must inhibit thought as to what life itself is. Seeking to save his life, he is losing it. Yet he must seek to save it, must because his soul is part and parcel of the humanity that brought him to being and surrounds and sustains him. He must stay his thought of the meaning of the life, lest from inattention to the immediately practical he fail therein : as, indeed, many do fail and perish. In order to seek the meaning of life, some have renounced society : such as Thoreau and Walt Whitman. Many a vagabond is a philosopher gone astray.

The true motive for seeking perfect health, whether by honest labor, by sufficient rest, by intellectual activity, by moral discipline, by gymnastics, athletics, and dietetics, by surgical remedy of malformations, great and small, by medical cure of maladies, by renunciation of a noisy, crowding, unpitying civilization, by deliberate setting aside the inessentials of culture, of wealth, and of pleasure, by any or all of these, is always the emancipation of the spirit from the flesh. One who is perfectly well, flawlessly skillful in bodily movement, joyously but calmly performing every bodily function, who takes from the physical creature everything of which it is capable, never was and is never like to be ; but did such an one exist, he would be so completely master of his body that he would not be conscious of its existence. This is health, for it is body and soul working as one. In that co-working, the soul would by its very nature so possess the body as to be free from it.

Of such health, genuine art, the very spirit of art, is the essence, for health is the nature of art, which expresses universals in the various visible, audible, sensuous forms of particulars. Philosophy is the method of health, for philosophy expresses universals in the forms of thought, more or less darkly revealed in words. Organized by philosophy, which rationalizes religion, health assumes the character of holiness, whose motive is realization of sonship to God, the infinite holy One. Upon this vision, formal education dares not look face to face, but, in the manner of Moses of old, descends from the Mount quickly and humbly. For no man knows and manifests, and no man can know and manifest perfectly, the way to salvation and the life of entire holiness.[1]

Philosophy has a lower aim and a lower plane than true religion, but only the next lower. The motive for the study of philosophy is to organize knowledge, to relate particulars to generals, and generals to universals, and universals to one truth upon which all turn; and likewise to organize conduct, to relate impulses to purposes, and purposes to motives, and motives to the one character in which all consist. Thus philosophy rationalizes thought and action. And religion spiritualizes such thought and action so that in a state of holiness reason and practical life may be one.

Part and parcel of a sound philosophy of conduct is the art of health, which, like all other arts in civilization, is based upon certain sciences, — in particular physiology and hygiene. The art of health, moreover, like every other great art, comprises many lesser and subordinate arts. It is, indeed, a system of technics, requiring practice continued until habits are formed and established, and is based upon knowledge of many facts and principles, — the whole utilized intelligently in the management of a particular and, therefore, peculiar, human

[1] Sterrett, *The Freedom of Authority*, chapter i.

body. Several decades ago Spencer said that few seemed conscious of health as a duty, avoiding disease and invalidism as immoral.[1] On the whole, we have advanced since then, as vital statistics show; but most persons even to-day are not well, and few are as strong, as full of health, as expert and agile as they might well have been. The very weight and mass of civilization seem opposed to producing a vigorous humanity. Human nature, civilized, seems anti-natural. The city, with its sewers, its streets, its noises, its restlessness, its ambitions, anxieties, overwork, overplay, and accidents, its sunlessness and crowding, the city which should be at best only the occasional resort of mankind, the scene of a week's visit for recreation of mind or of a month's sojourn for transaction of business, has become the fatal theatre of man's tragic passions for excitement, for society, for wealth, and for power. There is land enough upon which children might grow into manhood and womanhood and men and women might grow into wholeness of life; but no, we prefer (and we draw our very laws so that we are compelled to accept) the white blight of the city to the ruddy health of the fields, — we, that is, the ruling and suffering third of us who dwell in cities. And, out in the roomy open lands, too many of the rest of us imitate in our houses, in our dress, in our amusements, in our worship, in our education, the manners, the conditions, the ideas that prevail of apparent necessity in the cities.

But a reaction of opinion has set in, and a reaction of deed may follow, — must follow, if this nation endures. Some of the intelligent and moral, some of the well-to-do and frightened, have set up their homes in the fields: it is a fashion of incalculable possibilities of value in health, in knowledge, in conduct. Yet while cities endure as the residences of multitudes, the general citizenship must

[1] *Education*, chapter iv.

endeavor to palliate evils not always of the choosing of particular individuals by resorting to many artifices of device, such as indoor calisthenics, gymnastics, athletics, and of substance, such as parks, sewers, waterworks, ventilation and sanitation systems in buildings, fresh-air excursions in the country, free public baths. The formal system of education must include from the day the boy enters school all of these artifices in their order. The school is the cure for civilization, as we have seen; and it may yet be required to provide a month in the mountains or by the sea to restore our city boys and girls to at least a measure of the playful health that God meant them to possess when He gave them being. We may investigate forever the mechanics of life: we shall never resolve the miracles of growing grass or of the twain become one flesh and spirit in the child.

We know at last that health is the beginning of holiness, its circumstance, its outward manifestation, its form and manner. Therefore is health sacred, righteous, and holy: and whatsoever is unhealthy, that is sin. To cleanse our own bodies of unhealthiness and to strengthen every personal weakness, to cleanse the social body of unhealthiness and to strengthen every social weakness: these are moral duties. Who shirks them, who offends them, must answer in "the great assize," whatever be the nature or the time of that final accounting.

Many a schoolhouse, most factories, all tenements, — and whatsoever and whosoever, whether in ignorance or by design, caused these to be what they are, — must stand the challenge, — Was it good for the bodies and souls of men?

CHAPTER XX

CONSTANTS, ELECTIVES, PROGRAMMES, AND COURSES

We cannot always be contemplative or pragmatical abroad, but have need of some delightful intermissions wherein the enlarged soul may leave off awhile her severe schooling. — MILTON, *Prose Works, Tetrachordon.*

Every want satisfied adds to the fullness of life. The whole object of the fine arts is to create new wants in order to satisfy them. — WARD, *Applied Sociology*, p. 330.

Horace Mann, being asked, after his memorable commencement address, if he had not exaggerated in saying that no possible amount of time, thought, and treasure could be too much to expend if it would save one boy from ignorance and evil and train him for life, replied promptly, "Not if it were my boy." — BIRDSEYE, *Individual Training in Our Colleges*, p. 196.

SINCE education and culture are to be redeemed from traditionalism, from particularism, and from teleological notions, and since they are to be made valuable for all kinds and conditions of men and women in all good kinds and conditions of employment and of leisure, the programmes of studies and exercises must be made at once encyclopædic in material, scientific in method, and appropriate in their application to various individual men. In pedagogy, therefore, four questions arise: 1. Are there any studies and exercises that should be pursued by all persons, or by all boys, or by all men? 2. Are there any studies or exercises that are of sufficient importance to large classes of individuals to warrant their inclusion as electives or options in every system of formal education? 3. What is the logical sequence of studies and exercises? 4. What is the logical correlation of studies and exercises? Complete answers to these questions have constituted the subject-matter of entire books; they are technical, and as such do not fall within the purview of the present work. But brief answers, involving certain

principles herein developed at length, are essential to the present argument. The logic of this inquiry — a proper progressive concatenation of facts, concepts, judgments,[1] and opinions from which reason demands an applied conclusion — requires an issue in formulated recommendations.

Play is an absolute constant in education from birth until full maturity; and it is a very valuable aid in manhood and down to old age. In association with play and games, both intellectual and physical, both individual and social, a choice of gymnastics, athletics, calisthenics, swimming, hunting, fishing, travel, is an absolute constant in childhood and youth.[2] And in association with these more or less undirected exercises, the various lines of manual training, so called, present themselves for choice by educator and educatee. In all this play and physical development and training, the motive is a facile control of the body, a delight in its powers, a desire to make the most of it.

A recognition of play and of physical training as the first constant in education, and of games and athletics as the first constant in culture, would revolutionize the procedures of formal education in most communities and of formal culture in most colleges and universities; but not in all. The light already shines in some places. Play is the seed-ground of Intelligence; physical culture, that of Efficiency; and games, that of Morality. And as has been displayed already in this argument, Science is the harvest of Intelligence; Art, of Efficiency; and Philosophy, of Morality. And, again, Science, Art, and Philosophy bring the body to health and the soul to integrity.

[1] Bagley, *The Educative Process*, p. 131.

[2] "No books in the world are as valuable as games for the direct development of character. The virtues engendered in the playing-field are of the most permanent and valuable nature." Hughes, *The Making of Citizens*, p. 248.

By this dialectic of growth, man in civilization may come to holiness.

Another absolute constant in education is the study of the present world, — Nature-study, geography, and all the natural and physical sciences in their due order and relation. Play, the first constant, is the approach to Nature as well as to human nature. "Outdoor life"; what a reproach the phrase is to the ordinary life of man! to our common sense! to our foolish ambitions! Play enlarges life, Nature-study prolongs it. For medicine, hygiene, botany, field-roaming, camping-in-the-woods, and every other investigation and activity that takes one into deep and secret places, thrusts Death away for years and years from the individual and from the race. To know Nature fully is as impossible but almost as desirable as it is to know God; and not one day in our lives may we rightfully neglect association with Nature any more than we may rightfully neglect the worship of God.

A recognition of Nature-study and of science as the second constant in education and in culture would revolutionize the procedures of formal education and culture in most institutions of learning, would revolutionize civilization itself by transforming, by returning, citizens into men. It is too much to expect? So were the steam engine and the telephone before they were discovered. In that great day, Bruno, Bacon, Pestalozzi, Spencer, Hall will be justified.

There is a third constant in education in every land for its peoples, the vernacular, not for its own sake, but that the soul of the individual may be able more and more completely and accurately to express itself. For the better understanding of the vernacular, the study of other languages is desirable. "He who knows no foreign languages knows nothing of his own." [1] The vernacular as

[1] Goethe, *Sayings in Prose.*

a constant in education includes vocabulary, reading, conversation, recitation, prose and verse composition, grammar, rhetoric, debate, oratory, philology, spelling, handwriting, typewriting, typesetting, phonography, and literature; the subject-matter of the native tongue, its constitution, sciences, and arts.

There is for all the educable and cultivable ages of a man these three constants and but two more, less important and therefore requiring but little comment, though vital, — music and drawing. The music includes individual and not merely class singing and voice culture, the acquisition of the technic of musical instruments, and the principles of composition. For every one? Certainly. For those "born with musical gifts" as a matter of right; for those born without musical gifts as a matter of social necessity. Music is the universal language, the soul of poetry, the keynote of Nature, the pathway to peace as well as to power.

Drawing: the term here is synecdoche, for by it I indicate all modes of expression by representation, — drawing by outlines, in mass, in color, modeling, sculpture, painting, — whatever be the tools and material, whether chalk, lead, graphite, paper, wood, stone, water-color, oil, bronze. Mode and tool are matters of indifference; the representation of reality — of reality often purer than the particular real thing — is the essential.

While there are no other constants for all the educable and cultivable ages, there are certain constants for particular ages. These vary for particular races of mankind. In a paradoxical sense, an appropriate elective may be termed a constant for a particular individual, because his mental diathesis as indicated by a scientific diagnosis requires a particular regimen of thought or of physical activity. The Negro, no doubt, requires certain studies and exercises earlier and others later than the Teuton; and the "colored man," — the

American *mestizo*, originally bastard, disowned and despised by fathers of the so-called superior race but tenderly nurtured by mothers of the inferior race,[1] — abnormal miscegenate that he is, goes to all extremes of precocity and of arrest, of variety and simplicity of powers. To each race, to each individual, belong the constants appropriate to his complete education.

Arithmetic, both as the science of multitude of magnitudes and the art of computing them and as a mode of conveying information of the world, may fairly be termed a constant in the education of boys and girls from eight to sixteen years of age. Likewise, geometry may be considered a constant for children and youth from twelve to twenty years of age. And similarly, the algebraic equation.[2] But mathematics in their entirety belong to the mathematical specialist and to the physical scientist. As such, the higher mathematics are properly elective.

History in its exact sense cannot, upon philosophical grounds, claim a place as a constant before the time of adult maturity. Incomprehensible in its substance without the apperceptive materials of personal experience, history is a part not of the programme of education but rather of that of culture. The effort to reduce history to the gauge of childish and adolescent intelligence has emasculated it beyond recognition. Such has been its perversion in text-books and in popular essays and

[1] Our Negro is literally "a new nation," a mixture, in some instances a blend, of many peoples. With a superb physical basis, this "nation" may yet achieve notable things in world-history. The beauty of some of the women, the unusual maternalism of all of them, and the precocity of the children indicate biologically singular promise for the future.

[2] The reforms scientifically indicated for the teaching of elementary mathematics in school are two: to postpone instruction in them until the pupils are able to comprehend their processes; and to present them in the concrete so that they may be solved with the enthusiasm and facility engendered by interest.

narrative volumes, — by reason of prudery, of timidity, of sheer ignorance, of the authority and influence of libel laws for the living and respect for the memory of the dead, of civility and politeness, of national pride, of the illusions of things past, and of commercial interests of publishers, — that what little true history can be discovered and comprehended can scarcely be brought to light, and that history itself is in disrepute for recondite remoteness from real life and for vague superficiality and general dullness. In this condition of the American mind, history at present cannot be redeemed.

Therefore, history is a pageant,[1] a panorama,[2] rather than a revelation of men and of mankind. At the hands of most writers, biography is overshadowed by the same night. "To be a really good historian," said Macaulay, "is perhaps the rarest of intellectual distinctions." [3] And to be a thoroughly appreciative reader of history, one must be of intellectual power and of social and personal experience equal to the writer of it.

This criticism of superficiality is measurably true of all the sciences that draw upon history for their materials or attempt to analyze society for what it really is and contains, — economics, political science, anthropology, sociology, to cite the most notable.

Upon the face of this presentation, it would appear that electives are generally but varieties of the constants. As such they become options, as, for example, French or German, geology or astronomy, psychology or philosophy. In a few instances, they are extensions of the constants into regions too remote or difficult for the needs of most men and women. In other instances, they are fascinating pursuits for "the elect," as, for example, sociology. In the final instances, they become the special themes of

[1] Birrell, *Obiter Dicta:* Series ii, Muse of History.

[2] Chancellor-Hewes, *The United States: a History;* Preface, vol. i.

[3] *Essays: History.*

professional inquiry, — theology, jurisprudence, therapeutics, pedagogy, architecture, engineering.

And obviously upon this analysis, it appears that the constants are more in evidence in youth than in maturity, in the process of education, the plowing, than in the process of culture, the planting, of the human mind.

Some years ago, strong effort was made to group the studies of school and college within the three terms, humanities, sciences, and arts. Under the spell of this trivium, — mediæval humanities, modern sciences, ancient arts, — I for one was led to argue in public speech and print that about one third of the time of every high-school pupil should be spent upon each of these subjects. The fallacy of this mechanical view — its essential traditionalism under the guise of modern technical precision — is self-apparent to the psychologist and to the educator.

The determination of the true order of studies, of the particular course in particular subjects, is essentially a task for the philosopher. In history, he may proceed from myth to biography, to general world-views, to local history, to American history, to English, to modern, to mediæval, to ancient history, to civil government, and he may end in political science ; or he may adopt some other order, as his reasoning directs. His purpose is to find the logic of the time-perspective, his problem is essentially philosophical. In mathematics, he may proceed from numbers to arithmetic, to geometry, to algebra, to analytic geometry, to calculus, to quaternions, to mechanics : again, his purpose is to find and to follow the logical order. The determination of the appropriate age for the pupil to pursue a particular study is the task of the psychologist, whose business is with the genesis of powers, with the development of interests and with the discovery of needs. He studies the typical child of eight, the typical child of twelve, the typical child of sixteen years; and he studies also the individual boy and

the individual girl and by their peculiarities distinguishes them from the standard types. Knowing the types and the variations, he selects the subjects and the topics in the constants, — always, of course, retaining the logical essentials, but adding the particularly appropriate incidentals and collaterals, — as required for the education of the children or for the culture of the youth.

To this task, few have devoted themselves: but the educational psychologists have come to stay and to increase.[1]

The determination of the programme by which courses and pupils are brought together year by year, day by day, is the task of the educator; but it cannot be performed successfully until the philosopher and the psychologist have both accomplished their tasks and can display approved results. Therefore, an educational programme for the specific grades is as yet unknown, though indicated.[2]

There are two most technical questions that concern us here. Of these, the one of greatest importance is whether a curriculum should be arranged vertically by subjects or horizontally by grades. It is almost useless to study a subject as a mass of information: it must be pursued in accordance with its own logic.[3] Therefore, there must first be a vertical sequence. But it is quite as useless to study a subject before one has the apperceiving power.[4] Therefore, the second task is to arrange the items of the day's work in proper association: this is horizontal correlation. The answer to the question is that the logical order, the logical sequence, the course of the particular subject is the necessary philosophical means to the pedagogical end.

[1] The prospect is very encouraging. *Educational Review*: Bibliography for 1906, June, 1907, pp. 47–62.

[2] Noss. *The Fourth Year. The Fifth Year.*

[3] Ward, *Applied Sociology*, p. 308.

[4] Bagley, *The Educative Process*, p. 196, and works there cited.

The second question, less important but not unessential, is how much of the day's work in each particular grade shall be required, how much optional (a matter of choice between several topics), and how much elective — a matter of choice between work (or play) and nothing at all (or rest). "Busy work" in the primary grades represents the entering wedge of electives for children at school as well as for youth at college. The answer to this question is practical. To place an eleven-year-old boy, because he is bright and quick, with fifteen-year-old average boys indicates failure to see that the precocious boy needs not to be pushed forward beyond the experiences of his soul, but to be given more work of the kind needed and enjoyed by eleven-year-old boys.[1] Hence, the suitable elective as extra work appropriate for eleven-year-old boys is the solution, not crowding the high school with children, and insulting the world with college graduates not yet come to manhood. If one college "freshman" can do twenty hours of "freshman" work while most freshmen do sixteen, let him do it; but do not for that reason graduate him in three years instead of four: the same principle holds in high schools and in grammar grades.

All elaboration of these principles belongs properly in texts upon school management: it suffices here to suggest the problems and to vindicate the principles for their solution.

The argument of this chapter is not quite complete without note of a question previously discussed in these pages. Does not the need of society properly influence, to an important degree, the presentation of certain subjects in the schoolroom? Again, I answer, No. As I

[1] "Never press a child to learn. The curiosity of children is a natural propensity, which comes before instruction. Conceit is always to be dreaded as a result of premature education." Fénelon, *Traité de l'Education des Filles* ["Fragments": pp. 9, 13, 11, transl. by B. C. R.].

have argued above, the emasculation of history for school purposes has made that subject contemptible and prevents in this generation in America a development of that respect for history which has always marked great and enduring civilizations. Our people do not know, and because of their school experiences are unwilling to inquire, what history really is and teaches. We cannot impart to children or instill into them what is essentially beyond their powers. Consequently, to teach out of proper order and time any subject or topic because society seems to require it — in other words, to yield to utilitarianism — is to do worse than fail; it is to give offense. *Already too many persons have learned the art of finance before mastering the fundamental principles of morality; and too many have acquired the art of politics before inquiring into the science of government.*[1]

Not the school for society, not the boy for civilization, not the man for his country; but all education for the most in the present, — which, closely analyzed, is the immediate future, — because the whole cannot be greater than the sum of all its parts, and mankind is temporal but each man eternal.

[1] Cf. Woods, "Democracy a New Unfolding of Human Power," *Studies in Philosophy and Psychology.*

CHAPTER XXI

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF SOCIETY AND EDUCATORS

God has lent us the earth for our life ; it is a great entail. — RUSKIN, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, chap. vi, § 9.

The wise man must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future ; and that his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. — SPENCER, *First Principles of Synthetic Philosophy*, p. 123.

The animating spring of all improvement, in individuals and in societies, is not their knowledge of the actual, but their conception of the possible. — MARTINEAU, *Spiritual Growth*, vol. vi, p. 87.

THE rights of society against educators constitute the obligations of the educators because of their profession of competence and of desire to educate. The rights of educators against society constitute the obligations of society in accepting the services of the educators.

The first right of society is vested in the child; it is, therefore, the first obligation of teachers to society. The child has the right to grow in knowledge at school, to improve in health and in morality, and to gain in efficiency. In a graded school, the obligation of the teacher is to take any class, good or bad, and in the course of the term to make it better as a class and to make as many as possible of its individuals better. The teacher who spoils a good class or discourages or confuses a good pupil has failed in his obligation, voluntarily assumed by his public profession. The child is in the world by fate, not by choice. The unborn babe is doomed to birth as is the adult to death.[1] And we who environ

[1] "*The doom is on us, as it is on you,*
That nothing can undo ;
And all in vain you warn :
As your fate is to die, our fate is to be born."
Howells, *From Generation to Generation.*

the child are to him angels of heaven or fiends of hell until he has learned what this world really is.

We need to remember every day that no child is responsible for his inheritance. But we should not exaggerate our own responsibility towards the child ; it does not exceed our own powers and opportunities. Within these limits, the teacher owes to the young stranger in this world a training to obedience, a discipline to intellectual effort, and abundant information. If for no other reason, teachers should be constant readers, that they may always have fresh and living knowledge to impart. If for no other reason, teachers should be constant scholars, persistent students, that they may not forget what it means to study. Any child is to be pitied who feels that his teacher is not intelligent, earnest, ambitious, and well-informed. A teacher may have a life certificate and a life appointment dated ten, twenty, thirty years ago ; the certificate itself will not save him from the searching eyes of the child anxious for intellectual nourishment. Much of the disorder in schoolrooms occurs at times when teachers are too tired to be giving out information.

Quite as great as the responsibility of the teacher to the child is his responsibility to the mother of the child. The mother brought the child into the world in travail and in peril of death. In nine cases in ten, the food eaten and the clothing worn by children represent the personal deprivations of self-sacrificing mothers. Consider what it means to be the wife of a man who earns eight, ten, fifteen, twenty dollars a week, and the mother of three, six, possibly ten children, eating three meals a day and wearing out clothing and shoes seven days in the week! Consider the care of the father and of the children in sickness, and the anxiety when work is slack or wanting and the savings run low! Consider the moral responsibility of training the family! Day-work, night-worry,

even the strain of holiday-making, fear of rent-day and "of rainy days:" this is the price that the mother pays for the lives of her children. Behind every child in his class, the good teacher sees the mother and remembers what the child costs the mother in work and prayer and sacrifice. School-teaching is hard; but there is no paid occupation so hard as taking care of a family of two adults and several children on ten dollars a week. Nothing else is quite so hard save combining these family duties and working in mill or shop or at the washtub to earn money for the family. The death-rate begins to take its heaviest toll at the point where the per capita family income is so low that the mother must "go to work." The cemeteries are full of the graves of the babies and young children whose mothers worked in mills, of the mothers themselves and of the fathers. Here men, women, and children break under the agony of life. Teaching is a sacred profession because the greatest service one woman can render to another is to help her to rear her children well, — because teaching serves motherhood, which is wholly sacred.[1]

The father who earns the money used by the mother to keep the child at school has certain rights. Since all the fathers vote, we hear frequently about this right. In times past, the rights of fathers against their children, against the teachers of their children, against even the mothers were grossly exaggerated. The slight element of truth is this: the father who is truly a good father and a good husband deserves to be forgiven for taking a wife and bringing the children into the world,

[1] "Ah, none but she who has borne
A child beneath her breast may know
What wondrous thrill and subtle spell
Comes from this wondrous woven band
That binds a mother to her unborn child
Within her womb."

Finch, *The Unborn.*

and to be dealt with patiently and mercifully, that he may be able to go on living in the world and supporting those for whom he is responsible. When he gives his life to the lives that he has brought into being, he is discharging his debt, though he can never gain a balance to his credit in respect to his wife and children.

Much is said of the rights of the taxpayer against the teacher. Most of the taxes that go to the support of the teacher are raised by levies upon real estate; and the small holdings are usually assessed nearer to their true values than the large. The owner of a homestead usually must earn from labor the money that he pays in taxes. Usually such a man has a family to support and his entire income is less than the amount that he might beneficially use for himself, his wife, his children, and other relatives naturally dependent upon him. In consequence, every dollar that he pays in taxes is a dollar that he might use to the direct advantage of his family. While all this is true, it is also true that his school tax, whether levied by state law or by municipal ordinance, represents a gain rather than a loss, for most schoolteachers are worth to the taxpayers more money than they receive. It is right that this should be so. It is the duty of every teacher, of every artist, of every scientist, of every professional man, of every Christian to obey the law of good measure and running over.

But the small taxpayer is not the only taxpayer. The entire tendency is toward the development of rich men and of many rich men, for the rich are growing richer and more numerous with every decade.[1] The total payrolls of the teachers of American cities never equal the payrolls of the bartenders. Liquors, tobacco, amusements, advertising; each of these items is several times greater

[1] Le Rossignol, *Orthodox Socialism, a Criticism;* Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Economics;* Patten, *The New Basis of Civilization;* Smart, *The Distribution of Income.*

annually than the entire cost of American education, public and private. As Benjamin Franklin said, the heaviest taxes are not those of government, but those of the pleasures and amusements and vices.

Again, the teacher is responsible to the teachers who taught him, to the world of education and of culture by which he himself has been made scholar and educator, to the saints and heroes and martyrs who have kept ideas alive in all ages. This responsibility may easily be forgotten, for practical life, for ordinary dull daily life, is not a season of spiritual illumination and of spiritual exaltation, but of resolute, silent, patient absorption in the tasks before one.[1]

Finally, the nation in whose midst the teacher was born and reared, the State by whose laws, customs, and traditions he exists, the Church which makes life sacrosanct, his life, his pupils' lives, and all the other social institutions that condition and environ him have rights against the teacher; and he is under obligations to them all. Even the city whose officers collect taxes and pay salaries, its governing boards, its chief rulers, have a claim against the teacher that he perform honorably and diligently the tasks that he professes ability to perform.

The complex civilization environing the schools compels an answering complexity within. When a community calls for professional men, housekeepers, stenographers, clerks, salesmen, it is cruel to send out only composition writers and computers of numbers. Every large city suffers from the diseases of a congested population, — poverty, over-competition of labor and capital, ignorance of hygiene, defiance of sanitation, crime, vice. The School should supply the best remedies known to modern culture for the overcoming of these diseases. It should

[1] "Tasks in hours of insight willed
Can be through hours of gloom fulfilled."
Matthew Arnold, *Morality*.

be the antitoxin for civilization. It is the true antidote for the great city. The School is a mode of meeting the material development of society by effecting a corresponding spiritual development.

It is the fortune of every school superintendent to listen to the advocates of the thousand and one remedies of laymen and of educationalists for the evils and deficiencies of modern public education. A mere list of these remedies by title would fill the pages designed for this chapter. Each and all of them presuppose one condition, more money, which President Eliot of Harvard has happily emphasized in the title of a little book, big with meaning, "More Money for the Public Schools."

The first effect of heavier expenditures would be to attract to the governing boards and to the teaching faculties of the schools a class of men and women superior to those now present. I observed several years ago[1] that in a democracy "extravagant" governments seldom dare to be corrupt. The general truth that very parsimonious governing boards and executive officers are comparatively safe in their various modes of benefiting themselves is not as well known and as well understood as it should be. Of course, in the essential facts any corrupt board is extravagant and any truly extravagant board is immoral; but boards that spend freely arouse public interest by their appeal to the public imagination as well as by their exciting the resentful enmity of the large taxpayer and the suspicious fear of the small taxpayer. On the other hand, the board that asks relatively light appropriations and spends relatively little money is welcomed by a very considerable portion of the population because it eases the tax-rate; and many men and women still feel toward taxes the hatred inherited from centuries of feudal and royal oppression. To be sure, the margin between the light appropriation and

[1] *Our Schools*, p. 100.

the inevitably necessary expenditure is likely to be small; but almost no one suspects that there is any margin at all that may be stolen.

Nor is this the only evil. When expenditures are low, and the quality of result expected is consequently low, men of ability and spirit dislike to serve the institution in any capacity. The result is a low quality of governing control and executive service. The officers often try to make up for their own small stealings or salaries by developing political power through petty manipulations of the positions and personnel of the institution. In consequence, the institution becomes a labyrinth of illegitimate rights and influences, and cannot perform its proper social functions. When, however, expenditures run high, public expectation is aroused; and the quality of all the persons connected with the institution, whatever it be, — political, religious, educational, economic, — steadily improves.

Whatever be the condition of any institution in any community, it tends to perpetuate itself by forming a circle, good or bad, as the case may be, — an excellent quality of control and service, generous appropriations, wise expenditures, honesty, impartiality, good reputation, high ideals; or poor quality of control and service, parsimonious revenues, unwise expenditures, dishonesty, favoritism, bad reputation, no ideals.

How, then, shall we break the present "vicious circle" of education? By acquiring ideals. And if we could acquire them, how should we spend the increasingly generous revenues that would follow? The answer is not merely theoretical, it is also practical, for we may see here in America many communities and institutions with steadily rising per capita expenditures.

We must not deceive ourselves in this matter. Money has been depreciating steadily for ten years; and merchandise and property have been rising in price. Unless the endowment and income of an institution under private control have

increased thirty or forty per cent in the past ten years, with the same number of students, the institution is now relatively poorer than it was then. Similarly with the appropriation for the public institution of education. He who shows that the per capita cost of education has risen ten or even twenty per cent in his own community has proven that relatively his schools have gone backward, for thirty dollars will buy no more education now than twenty-two or twenty-four dollars would buy ten years ago.

Even worse. The average American possesses now thirty-five per cent more property than he did ten years ago and has had an even greater gain in income. Public and private education lags behind and cannot show even a proportional increase, whereas an even greater increase has been demanded by the increasing social strain of civilization.

We should recognize the State public school system as a hierarchy by establishing the best educator in the State as State Superintendent (or Commissioner of Education, the title matters not) actually in control of all municipalities and should pay him the salary appropriate to the position. In populous States, the leading physician receives an income that makes twenty-five thousand dollars a year for the leading educator seem small. We should support the head of the State system by giving him an adequate force of competent associates, assistants, agents, inspectors, supervisors, examiners, and clerks. We should recognize the city superintendent as an officer charged with a multitude of duties requiring a degree of executive ability so high as to make the educational qualifications secondary though essential, and should pay him fifteen or twenty thousand dollars a year. Physicians, lawyers, dentists, industrial managers of high repute get more. So would the city superintendent, if his legal powers equaled his actual responsibilities. Principals of large schools, supervisors of subjects and of departments, directors of popular lecture courses, and other general

managers would receive three, four, five times as much as now, and would then receive only as much as principals of schools actually do receive in England, which we are so ignorant as to suppose behind us in real education. Class teachers in the public kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, colleges, institutes, and universities would receive from one to five thousand dollars a year, averaging at least twenty-five hundred in even the lower schools, and four thousand in the higher. Why? So as to attract the best talent to the work of developing human wealth, which is the only real wealth, and which is the cause of material, visible goods, and so as to support this talent fitly at its work. Strange as it may seem to a few, this very stage is but a short distance ahead in communities that are progressing.

We should increase greatly the number of teachers not only because education would be greatly prolonged and the number of children at school greatly increased, but also because we should give every class of thirty or forty pupils into the care of two teachers in association. We should greatly enlarge our school accommodations, allowing at least two rooms to every class, and several general rooms to every school. We should also increase the area of land set aside for school grounds. And we should multiply in variety and in value the studies, exercises, recreations, and interests to be afforded boys and girls and men and women. In short, the very increase of material supplies and of educational opportunities would increase the obligations of the profession. As it is now, we are ignorantly held to be responsible far beyond the possibilities of our achievement for want of legal rights and of material resources. Perhaps we ourselves have failed to see the vastness of our opportunity, considered theoretically, and the essential nature and the absolute necessity of our function in civilized society; and consequently have asked for too little.

CHAPTER XXII

THE NATURAL MAN: HIS MOTIVES, IDEALS, AND PRINCIPLES

The poor man comes to us from yesterday's wrongs: and he generates beings who are carrying into to-morrow the birth-marks of to-day's evils. — PATTEN, *New Basis of Civilization*, p. 71.

For where the argument of intellect
Is added unto evil will and power,
No rampart can the people make against it.
DANTE, Divina Commedia, *Inferno*, canto xxxi, 55–57 (Longfellow, transl.).

When good and evil alike are seen to grow out of assignable antecedents, by processes that calmly judging men can pretty closely foretell: to rest on laws of growth and disease that apply to character as other laws apply to the physical organism: to express the lack of imagination, or the low power of reasoning, that makes men hard, cruel, and unjust; or to flow from the over-excitement or insufficient satisfaction of physical impulses that make them a prey to lust or to alcohol: then every thinking man is made to feel in a new sense that but for the grace of conditions that he has only partially controlled, there, where the criminal passes to disgrace and misery, goes he himself, — the juryman, the judge, the newspaper reader. — HOBHOUSE, *Morals in Evolution*, part i, p. 118.

THE natural man may be the man in complete savagery, — the primitive man of Nature: he may be the man without formal education, in the presence of a complex civilization, whose influences he cannot wholly escape; or he may be the man who has resented formal education and opposed whatever else he could of the civilization environing him. Of the first type of natural man, we have some examples within the United States, but not enough for our serious consideration. Of the second type, we have millions of examples. Of the third type, we have thousands, — our criminals, vagrants, idlers, paupers, and parasites. It is the second type that we are to consider here, — the untaught man or woman struggling to live the human life in the thick of things that he certainly cannot understand.

There is a significant confirmation that psychology and sociology make for the truths that each primarily displays.

Psychology discerns certain moods in man,—natural to him, appearing in due order as he progresses through life, self-evolved, genetic, normal, not in the least the product of any kind of formal education, on the contrary, often unfortunately repressed or distorted by pseudo-education. Sociology discerns certain moods in communities and societies,—natural to nations and peoples, appearing in due order as the society progresses in civilization, destined, genetic, normal, not in the least the product of deliberate social willing, on the contrary, often unfortunately repressed or distorted by pseudo-science.

To these personal moods or modes, psychology has given the special name of motives. To the corresponding social modes, sociology has given the special name of institutions. Only in an advanced stage of culture, when one can summon the events of life in clear and complete retrospect, does one become conscious of past motives; and never is one conscious of present motives. The philosopher knows why he did some past things: not even he knows why he is now doing present things. Similarly, in an advanced stage of civilization, when society has fully developed a self-conscious leisure class, it becomes possible to recognize those products of social motivation which history slowly develops and which we loosely classify as institutions, meaning thereby not special foundations (e. g. a hospital, a college, an asylum), but habits, customs, modes of thinking, feeling, doing.

The primary and one absolutely essential motive in the individual man is to live. We may not properly speak of the desire to live as a motive, for there is a suggestion of definiteness in desire that lifts it above motive toward the clear consciousness of purpose. Motive is wholly unconscious, desire is subconscious, purpose fully conscious: stated otherwise, motive is pure will, desire is will and feeling, purpose is will and intellection. Motive has no object, desire sees an object, purpose sets out to attain

the object. But without motivation, there can be no desire; and without desire, there can be no purpose.[1]

Motive expresses itself in impulse. Persistence in impulses of the same nature displays steady motivation, a health of body that is also strength. Surplus strength — abounding health — displays vitality beyond the requirements of the internal machinery of the body. It mothers impulses, manufactures desires, multiplies purposes. Such vitality imperils the soul; for it tends to destroy memory, habit, integrity, identity, character. It leads to lusts of the flesh and to pride of life.

Overflowing physical energy at once invites and betrays psychical vitality. The invalid may think clearly, for consciousness consumes but little force: it is phosphorescent: it is the light of universal mind reflected from the mirror of an individual body. The man of valor may think powerfully, feeding his consciousness with calorific combustibles till it burns and flares and shines and glows incandescent.[2]

Deficient physical energy also at once invites and betrays psychical vitality. The soul tries to succor and rescue the body: for the soul built the body. (Otherwise, the growth of the body is inexplicable.) Often when the body is invalid or convalescent, the soul is submerged.

The first mode pursued by the soul proposing to live is hunger, — for drink, for food, for sleep. This special motive in its three phases is seen in the newborn babe and in the convalescent invalid. To cross this motive, to fail in it, promptly induces insanity and death.

[1] Intention is a concentration of the mind functioning as intellect upon a special object. It is the second power of attention. Intention is not to be confused with purpose, for it is not the issue of motive, but a highly developed form of consciousness.

[2] Of the first type, Pope and Stevenson: of the second, Washington and Bismarck.

Very closely resembling the mode of hunger is the appetite for warmth (in too great cold) and for coolness (in too great heat). In civilization, we gratify this temperature appetite by clothing and housing, — near and distant shelter of the body, whose life is a flame flickering upon matter between 94° and 108° Fahrenheit and comfortable only at 98.5°.[1]

Resultant from these modes are two, — the motive to pay out, to get clear of, excess vigor, and the motive to understand the means of supplying these appetites. To do things (to get action) and to know things (curiosity) are secondary motives, not primary, and yet by no means purposes, or even desires. The ignorant, immoral, inefficient man of primitive energy, — of motivation, — does not care at all whether he expends his energy in running, in fighting, in bearing burdens, in heavy labor, or burns it up in drunkenness or in lechery; but expend it or burn it, he must. Unless he destroys it, this tremendous energy will craze him. He is the stuff of which the true king is to be made; but he is far more likely to become a demon, a fiend, a brute,[2] than a king.

The motive curiosity is the mother of intelligence and is therefore the beginning of the intellectual or rational life. But it is not that life.

Motive can neither be inhibited nor educated, but it may be trained or schooled.[3] The movement of motive

[1] There is a discussion of life as a phase of or an identity with ionization in Duncan, *The New Knowledge*, part vi. Also, Lodge, *Electrons*.

[2] I use these words apologetically. No creature of the imagination, no animal ancestor or cousin, of man can be as bad as the fearful man of blind "passion," — be he citizen or woodsman, sprung from slum or palace. Too much feeding, too little thinking; and man sounds the uttermost depths of the abyss of hatred against all living things.

[3] It may be transformed. In appearance, the transformation is a displacement. But the good lover is always a good hater. He is full of motive, has therefore many motives. Their forms and directions depend upon his ideas — his knowledge, his opinions.

is its gratification. Motive or appetite (its next higher phase) is sated by its own activity, which consumes it. The function of intellection in respect to motive is solely to channel it, and, in this sense, thereby to direct it. When we speak of motor-education, we mean digging channels (in psychological terms, "forming habits;" in pedagogical, "drilling") through which motivation may expend itself facilely.

Motivation measures energy, — it measures exactly that amount of energy which the body produces in excess of its own internal requirements. Motivation ceases in sleep. Then the body functions without motivation as it does without consciousness, purely (if the sleep be perfect) as a physical mechanism. Rational processes can neither add to nor detract from motives. They can only express them.

The primary motives of human life, manifest in the child, tend to its self-preservation. They have an air of self-regard which grows by the purification of the intellect into self-respect. Self-reliance, independence, freedom, defiance, pride, avarice, insolence, arrogance, anarchy, and outlawry are all forms and powers of the motive to live.

There are other primary motives, not manifest until adolescence sets in: these tend to self-reproduction. They have a note of ecstasy, a tone of auto-intoxication. Of these motives, the first is to please the other sex, not as individuals but as a kind or class. The second is the personal sex-motive, to continue life beyond death in a new generation. Vanity, conceit, egoism, lust, love, self-devotion, altruism, and self-sacrifice are all forms and powers of this motive to live again.

The last of the primary motives manifest themselves in the established adult life and tend to race-continuance. They inhibit impulses in the interest of habits. They convert the play- working-force. They con-

serve what is, banking up vitality, as it were, in reservoirs. They centre upon self, but swing a periphery through society. From an egotism not less real than that of hunger or that of sexual desire, they widen out into an altruism that establishes the family and maintains the nation as a society, and thereby continues the race.

These primary motives well up in the soul of every healthy man and woman, and can scarcely be suppressed by even the worst system of formal education, so called.

These primary motives spring out of mere life. Certain other motives spring from life in excess of the present needs of the body. Of these other motives, — which may be called, arbitrarily, "secondary" motives, — two are important. To get rid of surplus energy, we play. In order to acquire more upon which to use our surplus energy, we accumulate property. There are other explanations of the play-spirit and of the property-lust. These explanations are usually derived from intellectual or affective processes. But the true explanations are to be found in the motor-processes. We play lest we rack to pieces, burn up, with too much energy. We play in order to get tired.[1]

Fighting is not so much universal animal motive as a special pre-human instinct. Often it springs from fear, which is a phase of the reverse motive to live. There is a love of fighting that springs from excess energy, the passion for adventure; there is a fighting that is a purely atavistic gloating over blood; there is a fighting

[1] There is, it would seem, a physiological explanation of the need, and the natural instinct, to play. The body in its normal condition produces far more energy than it really needs. Heart, lungs, liver, have large margins of safety. The cells and tissues, the blood-current, the corpuscles, the nerve-ganglia, the *pia mater*, and all other working and thinking parts exceed by two, by ten, times the actual requirement, if keeping alive were the sole object. The blood must be oxygenated and intoxicated in order to reduce man below the peril of excessive, explosive, ecstatic, hysterical vigor. In childhood, play; in manhood, work, solves the difficulty.

that witnesses simple self-reliance; and there is a fighting that is the bitterness of pride.

Outside idiocy and imbecility, an entirely uneducated soul cannot exist in civilization. The mere presence and visible activity of educated men in society educates the unschooled man. But to be essentially uneducated is to be the prey of motives, unenlightened by ideals, undirected by principles. That uneducated men live as nobly as they do is evidence of the essential worth of these simple human motives. Knowing nothing of values, rationally determined, they trust their motives to bring them to the goal of honor.[1]

The genetic progress of the natural man is to grow and to be strong, to eat, to sleep, to play, to acquire; after puberty, to grow yet more, to delight in the other half of mankind, to desire, and to procreate; and in full manhood to work, to love children, to desire the common good, and to enjoy exhilaration that fatigue may give surcease of life in sleep.[2] There is an air of automatism in all this, because reason in it is wholly subordinate to motivation, the intellect is a mere tool of desire, and affection is accidentally rather than intentionally, deliberately, and consciously gratified.

Over such men the storm of the world passes unknown. They are as the deep water below the ocean waves. They know not any wind or the extreme cold; but they know also little of the sunlight and of the warmth of life. For them, history and culture are almost as nothing; but they have, in loin and womb, the future

[1] It is a striking confirmation of the essential goodness of human nature that we distrust the morals of educated men far more than we do those of the uneducated. We expect the educated to act skillfully and to their own advantage, the uneducated to act foolishly but with intent for the general welfare.

[2] "The strength of motive wanes when the protesting organism is forced to adapt itself to bad air, bad light, fixed position, and routine occupation." — PATTEN, *New Basis of Civilization*, p. 122.

of the body and brain of humanity. They appear in annal, chronicle, history as "the people;" and so they are; and so we are. In the last analysis, ideals, values, all manner of cultures constitute but little more than a veneer. The instincts, motives, habits of humanity are the solid timber.

And these are they who build the city and multiply the citizens, totally failing to understand what the city is, but quickly appreciating by sympathy what the city may be. For between the real city and the ideal city of the plain natural man and of the dreamer, there is a terrible difference.[1] The real city is a pulsating social neurosis, a fever of activity of soul and of body, a vast congeries of associated, concatenating, and opposing forces, — of traditions, habits, ideals, desires, — a stormy welter upon the sea of humanity, an eddy growing into a maelstrom, at once the best and the worst of human products, but always centrifugal from God in Nature and centripetal of God in man. The real city is the torment of the individual who would preserve his individuality and the torture of society that would preserve its solidarity, for it separates the sheep from the goats, overpays and overpunishes; and it rings the peculiar man, be he good or bad, with its adamantine wall of conformity. The real city is the paradise of the parasitic classes, rich and poor, whose generations, however, it destroys that the normal man may prevail; here the idler finds companionship which is happiness. And it is the Inferno (literally) of the producing classes, whom it confines at their tasks of wealth-creating and child-rearing; it so confines them by visible bounds of distance and time to get beyond its limits, and by the invisible bands of the tradition that

[1] This is said soberly. Terror is the mood of the countryman suddenly transported into and lost in the great city. It shocks him. Because Gorky is in soul a rustic and fears the metropolis, he hates New York and London.

human companionship — gregariousness — is the chief delight of life, and of the law that rents, interests, and profits shall leave the laborer only the wages required for life itself.[1] The real city is entirely artificial and mainly false.[2] It is a flux of superstitions, gyrating upon a central truth, which is that by working together men can and do defeat the law of diminishing returns. Therefore, the natural men have established these immense workhouses. Not comprehending the social institutions, or human life at its best, they have totally neglected the interests of women and children, have indeed perverted women from their natural uses and have made of them house-animals and shop-slaves.

The city proposes the defeat of all the laws of Nature. It ignores seasons and periods; forever it is sowing, cultivating, reaping, harvesting. In the city, summer and winter, manufacture — the work of human hands upon raw materials — goes on ceaselessly, day and night, year in and year out. The city never rests. In the terms of human history, the city from Thebes and Nineveh to London and Chicago is the death-knell of physical humanity.

But the city is destiny. It absorbs nation after nation, corrupts them, and dies when they die, and because they die. The city knows not patriotism: who can love the tenement of his nativity? The city is the path by which every people passes forward to the gates of its own death. And why? Because the city is in truth the imperishable, the unattained ideal of the human race, which would build somewhere at some time "the city of God." [3]

[1] This law is challenged by modern economists. Cf. Le Rossignol, *Orthodox Socialism;* Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Economics.*

[2] Cf. Chancellor, "The Educational Outlook," *Journal of Pedagogy,* March, 1907.

[3] We think that because America is an empire of great cities, it will not repeat the history of Italy, which evolved Rome only, of England with its London, of France with its Paris. It is a strange delusion. The pre-

In the ideal city, there is no lost man, no lost child, no lost idea, no lost feeling, no lost goods. Whatever is, counts. Society spells sanity. The multitude specializes, assists, economizes.

The human error in respect to the city has been in confusing it with the open country and in not seeing the entire incongruity between their conditions. The open country is for growing things, the city is for making things. Between the open country and the city there must be the village, whose purpose is consuming things. The field and the factory are generally incompatible. Not less incompatible with either is the home. Before the millennial state is reached, we have yet much to learn of the city, of the hamlet, and of the field.

There is no room for homes in any city as such. Nor should the environs, the suburbs, of the city be given over to homes. Nor can they be. Homes cannot be created in the atmosphere or neighborhood of factories and shops.

The mongrel city structure — store below, dwelling above, stable for horses in the short back lot — is precisely the worst device of mankind for its own ruin *viâ* the ruin of the lives of women and of children. Tenement and flat advertise the incompetence and the indifference of humanity in respect to present morals and to future health. The saddest children I know are the toddlers confined to a room or two in city flats. And there are thousands of them, thousands and thousands. They are even sadder children than the little wayfarers in some remote, lost country districts, one house or less to the square mile.

The plight of the man in the city—literally the civilized man — is worse than that of the man in the open country; yet not much. Into the rural districts we are sending the

sence of many cities but hastens the physical degeneracy and the social devolution. True empire is always rural because it is always founded upon health and individual freedom.

mails with the newspaper, the insurance agent, the religious missionary, the politician, the tax collector, the book canvasser, and the telephone line. We are lifting the lost family into social relations, we are enlightening man, woman, and child with knowledge.

The redemption of the countryman by science and by art is indeed a harder problem than the redemption of the city man. The latter problem is little more than a matter of dollars and cents — for the man of the city has learned the value of the wisdom of collective humanity and is respectful, if not reverent, of public opinion and of expert counsel.

In the light of these simplest of suggestions regarding the average or typical natural man of city and of country, with no thought of seeking to expound the meaning of society and of solitude, I propose to cite wherein the uninstructed and the unintelligent (and therefore necessarily the inefficient, unmoral, and uneducated) absolutely fail in the presence of the institutions of civilization. My intention is to display in hard lines and in high lights why the ignorant prevent the success of the educated in promptly spreading civilization through all grades of humanity.

I propose the problem of the resistance of humanity to culture. And my thesis here[1] is that genius and talent cannot convert humanity quickly to the best because dullness and mediocrity, their antipodes, actively (not passively) resist conversion and regeneration. Comprehension of the conditions of a civilization in flux involves willingness to think as well as efficiency in thinking and ideas with which to think; and willingness to think is pure motivation. In some, curiosity and reflection (that

[1] My general thesis is in the nature of a plea for the abatement of educational obscurantism and formalism, and for the alleviation of such imperfections of civilization as are remediable by education. The above minor thesis is the counter side or obverse of the main proposition.

is, willing to think) produce the thinking condition of the soul, while in others a civilized morality, a sense of social duty in the presence of others with needs and interests, produces thought. Natural powers lead to spontaneous thinking; acquired powers (dug and cultivated out of incurious, immobile, indifferent wits) lead to artificial, deliberate thinking.

In society, a few are really radiant; many may acquire radiance;[1] many others are neutral or resistant to radiance.

The natural man in city and in country follows the line of least resistance: that is, expresses his instincts and functions psychically according to traditions and physically according to habits. Lacking ingenuity save in its lowest form of deceit,[2] he neglects tool and method and moves directly, brutally (like a brute), to his desired end.

[1] There are in Nature radio-active elements, whose radiance is due not to inherent quality but to the recent presence of radium. Their quality is a kind of pseudo-radiance by no means to be contemned, yet impermanent and unreliable. (Duncan, *The New Knowledge*, p. 112.) So in human society, we see men vitalized by the presence of a leader, who teaches them his ideas and charges them, as it were, with his own enthusiasm. The work of an educator differs from that of the leader in that the results of the former are permanent. To continue the analogy: The chemist finds in pitchblende the crystals of true chloride of radium, which is education; while the physicist brings his baser materials near the crystals, which is inspiration. The leader inspires his followers, — breathes his breath into them, and they breathe well as long as he breathes for them and in them. The educator regenerates his disciples; and they develop a new life in themselves, often a better life than he himself could live.

[2] "Shrewdness, tact, policy, demagogy, diplomacy, strategy, are only so many applications of the one principle, only so many varying manifestations of the primary intellectual faculty under correspondingly changed circumstances. . . . This idea lurks in all such words as cunning, crafty, artful, wily, arch, tricky, sly, astute, designing, intriguing, smart, shrewd, sharp. . . . So much is deception the essence of the principle that, as a rule, the greater the deception the greater is the success. . . . The primæval intellect was developed for no other purpose than as an instrument of protection from danger." Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, pp. 161, 163, 164, 165.

When obstacles turn him aside from his end, he does not see how to go around, but quits. When he does not quit, but persists by indirection and circuitousness, then it is that defeat may educate him. He may discover that victory is the issue of method. Defeat can educate only one who is potentially capable of education. Such an one is overcoming Nature and entering into human nature, which in its essence is victory over Nature.

Nature projects the field and the camp,[1] human nature erects the farm and the house and the city, all of them products of nurture and of culture.

We may, for convenience, divide men into citizens and barbarians.[2] The heathen[3] and the pagan,[4] the rustics and the ruralists,[5] have been in all ages and in all lands the subject for the ridicule, mockery, and scorn of the citizens; and they have always looked with envy and with awe upon the more refined, the polite[6] denizens of the cities.[7] Therefore, "citizen" has become a password, an introduction, and "barbarian" and "rustic" are bywords and warnings, though in truth the stout yet gentle, the just yet charitable, are always best when country-bred.

But with the disappearance of walled towns and of passports, of serfdom, of guilds, and of lords and clients, the rustics have entered freely into the cities, to dwell there, to multiply, and not to perceive the manner and the necessities of city life.[8] And with the appearance of

[1] The tale of the Dark Ages is that of the war between camp and city, between horde and society.

[2] "Foreigners," from *βάρβαροι*, the heavy-witted, the non-Hellenes; peoples not intelligible, the rude and weighted folk; the brave, savage, wild; the uncivilized, the non-citizens.

[3] Heath from *heth*, the waste land covered with shrubs and with weeds.

[4] *Pagus*, the fenced-out country.

[5] *Rus*, the country, the space for field and for wood, the non-city.

[6] *Πόλις*, city, the centre, the many-in-one; the strong State.

[7] The circled, consolidated, protected towns.

[8] This, I believe, is the cause of the mournful conviction of Spencer,

capitalism and of wage-incomes, the privileged citizens "to the manner born" have encouraged the multiplication of these men forced to labor without equally promoting their intelligent adjustment to city conditions.

At the present time, not a few prosperous citizens are moving out into the country for summer sojourn and for suburban residence, replacing the lost barons whose lordship disappeared with the feudalism of the old régime.

It may be said that of that old régime, America knows nothing. The South reproduced it in an extreme form; and the freed colored slaves and their children are repeating the historic march of agricultural laborers into the cities. And everywhere, North, South, and West, the old inherited mentality, persisting through generations, reproduces in this age the old characteristics of the citizens and of the barbarians, for the souls of men are general and historic, not special and new-created.

Moreover, there is a persistent devolution of character, a tendency to revert, in us all: behind every man, though his city ancestry be of five or fifteen generations, there are the hundreds of generations before ever cities were. At last, there is something of atavism, of barbarism, of savagery, of purest animalism in us all.

What, then, are the motives, the ideals, and the principles of the barbarian in the city in the presence of the social institutions?

The deepest motive is to live, to enjoy living. The barbarian, the natural man, would get immediately, would seize quickly, whatever offers most plainly the pleasures of life. He desires not work for wages, not even wages for

expressed in 1902, that "the world is returning to barbarism," is indeed proceeding "to universal decay." Loliée, *Short History of Comparative Literature*, p. 361. Similarly, because we are now trying to educate all, the clever and the dull, some educators think that either humanity is becoming inferior or teaching is growing poorer. It is an illusion of imperfect social knowledge. The error of Spencer was due to the decline of his powers.

work, but the material things themselves. And he reaches for them vigorously, violently, to the full measure of his strength and for so long as his strength persists. The barbarian child wishes to be a man speedily; and the barbarian father wishes to throw off as early as possible the burden of his child.

From this motive to live as easily and as exuberantly as possible spring all manner of crimes and of sins.[1] By reason of these offenses against morals, certain of our barbarians degenerate into savages. Of all dangerous men, the city savages are the worst. These are not merely slum-denizens: they are the slum-makers, the producers of the vices and of the diseases because of which the word "slum" breathes horror. The ideal of the "citi-savage" is "to live easy:" he admires "the powers that prey:" he becomes such a power. His very thought and forethought make him terrible. He who challenges this ideal of enjoyment without desert is a critic to be ignored and avoided: he who fights it is an enemy to be destroyed. The country can produce no man so dangerous as this "citi-savage," who perverts the advantages of society to its own destruction. The rural savage can do but little harm compared with him who is ensphered in a crowd.

What is the meaning of the social institutions to the barbarian? Absolutely nothing except the immediate concrete service that these agencies can render in time of need. The barbarian wants property, — gets it, neg-

[1] We think that we have solved some, if not all, of the problems of the city. In the concrete instance of the horse (for example), we are partly savage, partly barbarous. We drive him on hard and slippery pavements, shoe him with iron, torture him with check-rein, overload him, and tie in stalls, often for days at a time, this roaming, browsing, play-loving creature. In the country we cage him behind city-manufactured barbed-wire fences, careless of accident, pain, and maiming.

This is a trifling matter, perhaps; but it is an incident to the general historic demonstration that the city for residence, for manufacture, for art, for commerce, has presented an insoluble problem.

lects it, squanders it. He wants a wife; but in the hour of stress deserts her and the children and betakes himself elsewhere. He wants religion,—when he is sick; but he is no supporter of church or of charities. He forgets that there is a hospital or a dispensary, until in the hour of emergency it supplies his own need. He wants government and the police when overtaken by a stronger or a shrewder man; but he fights taxation. As for all the remoter and subtler institutions, — occupation, education, culture, æsthetic amusement, art, science, — the true barbarian must be drafted into them; for they call for what he does not possess, trained intelligence, social efficiency, tested morals.

Abolish this barbarian, and the supply of and the demand for strong drink, drugs, police-service, prostitution, alms, cease together.

Products that sell for money are not synonymous with the arts of civilization. Only barbarians make and sell things that work harm to others, or things that in their making injure the makers.[1]

Only the civilized can see that every act or product that is good is good upon the test of its quantity of service to the lives of one's fellow men, now or in the years to come. The test is the amount of living and the number of lives that the act or product helps.

What are the genuine barbarian principles? We all

[1] We hear much these days of "the exploitation of the poor by the rich" and of "the expropriation of the product of labor by capital." These are Socialist phrases, maxims of the cult that may yet become a "religion." Far worse than these conditions are imagined to be is the perversion of labor and of capital to the production of things — drinks, dramas, vices — that destroy mankind. This deliberate turning of men to their own destruction by means of their own labor and wealth is precisely the worst feature of the modern yet passing economic régime. For it, both rich and poor, employers and employed, are responsible. It is no more true that a poor man must work for wages in such an enterprise lest he die, than that the rich man must use his capital for profit in the enterprise lest it die. Let them both die. They cumber, they corrupt, the ground.

know them. To try to do right is to make war upon the barbarism in ourselves.

Parasitism is a barbarian principle: to get as much and to give as little as possible.

Ecstasy is a barbarian principle: to feel too happy or to be too angry to be able to think.

Indolence is a barbarian principle: to care not whether this world of our inheritance be set in order.

Childlessness is a barbarian principle: to live indifferent to the succession of humanity upon the earth.[1]

Indifference is a barbarian principle: to ignore the possibility of truth and the obligation to promote the knowledge and the efficiency of truth.

Fear is a barbarian principle;[2] and the desire to create fear, likewise. Fear contemplates consequences, not duty.

All sense-gratifications, "the lust of the eye," "the pride of life," have in them barbarous colors and are perilous.

There are other barbarian principles: impatience that cannot wait for events and work for results; remorse that regrets the irrecoverable past;[3] obstinacy that prefers to will and to stand rather than to think and to move; superstition that mistakes habits of ideation for laws of truth; particularism that fixes attention upon items; and diffusiveness that dissipates attention and refuses to organize experience. The barbarian is essentially half-

[1] Not mere physical parentage, but the true parentage of loving women and children and building families. To be a parent is not an event, but a life. There are true parents whose parentage is purely spiritual, to whose ministry millions owe their souls.

[2] "Perfect love casteth out fear, because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love." John, I *Epistle*, iv, 18. "True nobility is exempt from fear." Shakespeare, II *Henry VI*, iv, i, 129.

[3] More clearly than any other thinker, Goethe saw the importance of the faith in regeneration — that "men may rise," as Tennyson said, "on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things." It is the characteristic ethical belief of modern times, the essential meaning of

civilized, incompletely educated, neither wise nor foolish. The idea controls the savage; while the civilized controls and chooses ideas. The intermediate barbarian has obsession and persistency of ideas with haphazard variations that bewilder him. The savage is not bewildered: he is wild. The civilized is not bewildered: he is serene.[1]

All these barbarian principles contribute to the love of warfare, the universal barbarism. Fighting is savagery; war and preparation for war, militant patriotism, and the lust of dominion are barbarism, which is deliberate, organized, purposeful where savagery is impulsive, haphazard, blind.

The city is more in danger from barbarians to-day than is the open country itself.

The city millionaire cannot be wholly a barbarian, because he values property, which is the beginning of civilization. When he spends no more of his income upon himself than is good, really good for himself, when he cherishes his family, when he spends, gives, or invests the rest of his income for the profit of other men, he is substantially civilized.

The country farmer cannot be wholly a barbarian, for a well-kept farm is the reduction of the field to the use of men: good farming is applied science. When to the order in which he tries to set his part of the earth he adds national support of the social institutions, though he be isolated in the body, from the city, he is a true citizen of the nation.

The true barbarian has but a short life. In the city, his presence, his activity, his sickness, and his death menace the lives of his fellow men. To abolish him is the mission of education.

The half-barbarian, who multiplies his offspring when

[1] The principle within these propositions is that his ideas, not his external conditions or even his individual manifestations, cause the savage. I have seen Kaffirs from Africa converted into Americans within but a few years by the substitution of ideas. No doubt the savage or barbarian in the Americanized Kaffir is only asleep; but while the old ideas sleep, there is a new active personality.

he has no property to employ in caring for them and no culture to transmit by inculcation or by heredity, is not so much a menace to society as an invitation for the intelligent and the virtuous to be active in completing his redemption from barbarism. To complete his civilizing is the mission of education.

As for the civilized, the price of their continuance in civilization is persistence in education and in educational service.

The civilized must deal, however, with men who are worse than the barbarians, the uncivilized, for there are present in civilization the perverters of all for which at its best civilization stands. These perverters of the good, these anti-civilized, these enemies of humanity and of individual men, these destroyers of themselves turn life to its own ruin, make it hateful. These are not barbarians forerunning a gentle folk of later times; but gentle folk themselves turning what is good in their natures into evil. They manifest characteristic sins that require intelligence, activity, skill, even certain moral qualities for their entire accomplishment. Their deeds are incredible to the truly civilized because incomprehensible by them: between the vulgar and the polite and gentle, there may be sympathy; but between the bad and the good, there can be and is only antipathy.

These characteristic sins of the impolite and anti-civil are lying, promising, betraying, seducing, assassinating; ingratitude, oppression, arrogance, pride, luxury, — all the miserable and horrifying tale to be found in the Pentateuch, in the Inferno, and in certain modern literature, for Moses,[1] Dante,[2] Shakespeare, and Goethe saw the depravity of souls.

[1] This is not to assert that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, which indeed records his own death; but that he revealed the motives of the basest men, the anti-human. Cf. *Leviticus*, xviii–xx.

[2] Dante represents falsifiers and traitors as maniacs, as fever victims,

It does not appear that education or religion can ever cure their ills and make them good. Denunciation has no language strong enough to name their frauds and hatreds as they deserve. It may be that their sin is the Scriptural "blasphemy against the Holy Ghost," which cannot be forgiven.[1]

Sometimes their crimes are against masses of men, whole communities, whole nations. Whatever their professions, whatever their reputations, whatever glory and splendor attended them in life or followed them after death, the civilized and gentle may not rightfully be deceived by the apparent success of the plotters against life. These uncivilized, these incivil, these unnatural, innatural, obnatural, take certain of the methods and materials of civilization and for their own satisfaction (seldom really for their own benefit) use them to the injury of society and to the destruction of civilization.

In consequence, it appears that the refined and gentle folk of civilized society in order to maintain and to improve humanity must convert the natural and oppose and destroy the unnatural: in other words, civilization itself is a warfare between good and evil, between intelligence and ignorance (which is superstition, not vacuity), between invention and tradition, between charity and malice, between industry and wantonness, between virtue and viciousness. This warfare originates in motives, proceeds by intentions, develops purposes, displays ideals, and ends in and is determined by principles quantitatively and physically represented in persons. It can be understood only in the terms of a concrete psychology.[2]

as scale-clad, as ice-bound, their bodies tenanted by fiends, and devoured by the "Emperor of the kingdom dolorous." Cf. cantos xxx, xxxii–xxxiv.

[1] Jesus, Luke, *Gospel*, xii, 10. Literally, "false speaking of the sacred breath [of life.]"

[2] e. g. Royce, *Outlines of Psychology*; Ward, *Psychic Factors in Civilization*.

Its conflicts arise whenever the natural man goes into the city or the citizen proceeds into the country; whenever any man adds to his life a new social relationship; whenever a new institution is established or a new example of an old institution; whenever a reform is taking place in an individual or in an institution or in a community, or an injury is being done; they appear and reappear with births and deaths, with changing health, with accidents. And the more the conflicts and the severer, the greater is the likelihood of progress, which is conditioned by changes and collisions of persons and of things.

No nation will ever challenge history and win permanence until it establishes not merely a genuine economic surplus but also a genuine cultural surplus. It must have cities for manufacture, for mining, and for trade; but no more for habitation than for agriculture. Environing the cities and nucleating the open country, it must have hamlets and villages for neither manufacture nor agriculture, but for habitation. It must have the open country for forestry and for agriculture, but not for habitation. The wood and field will provide raw materials, the city will manufacture them, and the village will consume the products. In that nation, the political economy will concern itself not less with the consumption than with the production of goods; and the centre of the civilization will be the end of the economic process, the home, which will draw about it the nourishing and supporting institutions of school and church.

This is not to assert that the home will continue to be a scene of food-preparation and of petty household labor by every mother, house-confined and soul-starved. But it is to assert that every family must have a separate house and "close," a true God's acre, isolated from neighbors, where any child can play in safety in the hours when it does not care to play in group or "gang." There will be village playgrounds

and communal gymnasiums; but there must also be the child's own garden, pet animals, growing trees.

These hamlets will be the clearing-houses, as it were, between ruralists and citizens, to the end that whatever is good in open country and in the city may be reconciled and preserved, and whatever is bad be reduced to smallest measure.

It is the fancy of some that in the golden age of the future several of the old historic institutions — family, property, religion — will disappear as anachronisms. But the contrary is the case; they will benefit all, basing the lives of all, humanizing all in any "golden age." There will be more homes, more goods, more churches than ever.

The function of education now becomes clear; it is to lift as many as possible to the highest planes possible. We begin in savagery, enter into barbarism, proceed through its successive stages, reach civilization, and proceed in it as far as we may. The best possible education in childhood up to primary adolescence may bring the boy out of savagery into barbarism. The best possible education in adolescence may bring the youth into civilization, which in the terms of the individual life is ability to contribute to the social institutions and willingness to receive from them.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE WELL-EDUCATED MAN

A good man, through obscurest aspiration,
Has still an instinct of the one true way.

GOETHE, *Faust*, Prologue, Taylor, transl.

To rule the vast kingdom of Nature is the absolute duty and ultimate destiny of man; at present, only the will to possess and to administer is alone wanting to this half-hearted meddler in great affairs. — LANKESTER, *Kingdom of Man*, p. 31 (abridged).

The four great objects of all success are: Health, Love, Honor, Power. These desires are of the essence of Man. To achieve them, we move upon a line of strategy, determined by a constant and a variable. The indispensable constant is Education. *Savoir c'est à prédire.* — REICH, *Success in Life*, pp. 9, 18, 19, 35 (abridged).

THE purpose of education is not to inculcate in individual men the ways and notions of civilization that these may endure, but that each one may become all that he is capable of becoming. To say that logically, therefore, education might develop the evil in man as well as the good is to expose two premises, clearly false to the faith of man in himself as the highest example he knows of the works of God. The first premise is that the soul of man is at least partly evil, the second is that there is such a thing as education in evil. Against the dualistic philosophy of the first premise, which postulates two gods,[1] the history of human thought protests; against the cynicism and shallowness of the second premise, reason and love of life protest.

Education is not induction into conformity with the conventions and ideals of society; it is not adjustment to

[1] Ahriman and Ormuzd of the ancient Persia, God and Satan of mediæval Christendom, Baldur and Loki of the primitive Teutons. "Manichæism may be disavowed in words. It cannot be exiled from the actual belief of mankind." Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 15.

civilization.[1] It is the discovery of the deepest realities of the soul, which lie nearest to the Source whence all souls spring. In a paradoxical sense, education is evolution out of conventions and common ideals by passing through and above them. The well-educated man knows what the half-educated multitudes know and more, far more. Mastering their prejudices, he escapes out of them into freedom of thought. Certainly Moses, Socrates, Jesus, Bruno, Kant did not conform in thought to their times.

The end of formal education is to produce the well-educated man, whom we shall know by his qualities.

The well-educated man is completely educated, rounded out, built up solidly from the foundation of him to the top.[2]

He knows how to see things and what he sees: moreover, he can see through appearance to realities.[3]

He remembers what he has seen and can compare the new with the old.

He means to penetrate behind all disguises in himself and in others to the inmost truth, for he has the habit of truth-seeking: therefore, he turns away from dissemblers and simulators.[4]

He interprets his own experience in the light of the experience of others; therefore, he is anxious to know who other men are, and reads biography and fiction;

[1] *Per contra, vide* Sterrett, *The Freedom of Authority;* Dewey, *School and Society;* O'Shea, *Education and Adjustment,* — e. g. Education must seek to adjust the individual in the most harmonious way to society (*op. cit.* p. 286). We must prepare him for his particular needs determined by the particular offices he will fill in society (p. 287).

[2] "Too many men build as cathedrals were built — the part nearest the ground finished, but that part which soars toward heaven, the turrets and the spires, forever incomplete." Beecher, *Life Thoughts.*

[3] "Science is teaching the world that the ultimate court of appeal is observation and experiment, and not authority; she is teaching it to estimate the value of evidence." Huxley, *Lay Sermons,* p. 118.

[4] "Hateful to me as are the gates of Hades is he who, hiding one thing in his heart, utters another." Homer, *Iliad.*

and to know what other men have done and why they have done it, and reads biography and history.

He desires to enter into the life of the race and to live in the life of others, and reads history, geography, and sociology.

He desires to understand ever more and more clearly the movements of societies of men, and reads ancient and foreign literatures.

He reads not only for the delight in reading, but also for the experience that it gives him at second-hand to be converted to his own uses.

His literacy is not only passive and receptive, but also active and aggressive; and he expresses himself adequately and freely in language competent to convey his meaning.

He can do what he knows, for he can express his thought not in words only but in deeds as well.[1]

He has brought his body into subjection to his will, and has educated his will to conformity to his ideals; therefore, his ideals function as motives.

He is quick to act and thorough to perform.

He is too proud to live without producing wealth (material economic goods) or performing services as valuable to society as any forms of wealth, that he may equal at least the laboring man.

He acts upon plan and method to realize an end, and thereby economizes his energy and secures results by his living and working.[2]

He apportions his time intelligently, a little to little things and much to great things,[3] meaning to neglect nothing that is intrinsically important.

[1] "Bodily activities parallel mental life at every point." Judd, *Genetic Psychology for Teachers*, p. 315.

[2] "Unqualified activity, of whatever kind, leads at last to bankruptcy." Goethe, *Sayings in Prose.*

[3] "Those who apply themselves too much to little concerns commonly become incapable of great deeds." La Rochefoucauld.

He does not merely dream, but acts and achieves.[1]

Whatever he does, he does carefully; many things he does not attempt to do; he knows that a thing ill done is worse than not attempted.[2]

He desires nothing that he does not need, and, therefore, confines his activities to fixed purposes; that is, thinking before and when he acts, by forethought and care, he reaps the harvest of his sowing.

He holds his knowledge ready and available for use.

His every act is either to his own good without damage to his fellows or to the good of his fellows without reference to himself.

He is careless of personal distinction or favor, but exacting in matters of personal rights and relations, knowing that society does not progress because of trampling upon the honest, industrious, and kindly disposed individual.

He has grown from obedience to persons into obedience to public opinion, and from obedience to public opinion into obedience to the principles established through ages and maintained by reasons of the general human good.

His only fear is that he may not fear cowardice toward men and toward the affairs of Time, fearing only God and Eternity.

His delight is in achievement above his own, his sorrow for every failure of his fellows, his pain for every sin, for he sees in each man a brother and in woman a sister, and realizes that he himself is a failure and disposed to sin.

He insists that his conduct must conform to his sen-

[1] "Every man feels instinctively that all the beautiful sentiments in the world weigh less than a single lovely action." Lowell, *Rousseau and the Sentimentalists.*

[2] "Want of care does us more damage than want of knowledge." Franklin, *Poor Richard's Almanac.*

timents, holding himself rigidly and loyally to performance as nearly as possible according to aspiration.[1]

In his own life, he repeats as completely as possible the achievement of man in the redemption of soul from flesh, realizing the ideals of chastity, monogamy, paternity, filial piety, honor, honesty, and brotherly love.

He is just before he is generous, but is always generous, first being just.

He is patient to the uttermost.[2]

He rejoices in the excellencies of others and grieves in silence over their faults, never running publicly and noisily to forgive them.

He is never forward save for a worthy cause; for that he is willing, if need be, to die.

He will die, if need be, for friend or for country or for the truth that he believes; that is, for the faith that is in him.

He knows that sin is "the eternal outlaw,"[3] and that sin, if begun, may be persisted in, and that, if persisted in, it will outlaw him.

He lives openly because he can afford to do so; and his openness is as natural as is the shining of the sun.[4]

He has, indeed, in his own nature a charity like "the natural charity of the sun."[5]

[1] "To professional honor must be added the habit of the veteran." Birdseye, *Industrial Training in Our Colleges*, p. 334.

[2] "The inspired soul but flings his patience in,
And slowly that outweighs the ponderous globe;
One faith against a whole world's unbelief,
One soul against the flesh of all mankind."

Lowell, *Columbus*.

[3] Milton, *On Divorce*.

[4] "Openness is the sweet fresh air of our moral life." George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, chapter xxxiii.

"Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing and a name of certainty and veracity." Bacon, *Of Simulation and of Dissimulation*.

[5] Browne, *Religio Medici*, part ii, § iii.

He holds near and dear the friends of his youth as long as God spares them, and adds new friends as the years go by; eager for new friends, he is even more eager to keep those whom he has.[1]

He lends no ear to calumny, but answers it with an angry countenance,[2] pitying the frailty of others who err, but rebuking whoever delights in the tale of error, for he knows that even a good and honest man may be misled by plausible hearsay or by the report, it may be, of his own senses.[3]

He repeats no tale of evil save upon necessity, and judges no man unless not to do so might lead to yet greater evil.[4]

When courage avails naught to go forward, he stands upon the solid ground of fortitude.

He has the intelligence to conceive, the will to execute, and the heart to desire things good for himself and for others.[5]

He is glad to confess his sin;[6] he confesses and repents.[7]

[1] "If a man does not make new acquaintances as he advances through life, he will soon find himself left alone. A man, sir, should keep his friendships in constant repair." Johnson, in Boswell, *Life of Doctor Samuel Johnson.*

[2] *Proverbs*, xxv, 23.

[3] "In my opinion, the best of all characters is his who is as ready to pardon the moral errors of mankind as if he were every day guilty of such errors himself, and at the same time as careful not to commit a fault as if he never forgave one." Pliny, *Letters*, book viii, 22.

[4] "If thou hast heard a word, let it die with thee; and be bold, it will not burst thee." *Ecclesiasticus* (Jesus son of Sirach), xix, 10.

[5] Cf. Junius, *Letters*, xxxvii.

[6] "The purifying influence of public confession springs from the fact that by it the hope in lies is forever swept away, and the soul recovers the noble attitude of simplicity." George Eliot, *Romola*, chapter ix.

[7] "He who repenteth truly is greatly sorrowful for his past sins: not with a superficial sigh or tear, but with a pungent, afflictive sorrow, — such a sorrow as hates the sin so much that the man would choose to die rather than act it any more." Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Living*, chapter iv, § ix.

His greatest interest is in that enterprise in which he is personally disinterested, for he conceives society as his true and larger self; therefore, he wins.[1]

He loves to give and grudges to receive, fearing lest he has not given full measure, running over;[2] he desires always to give, and never to get, something for nothing: moreover, he is always ready to give away, caring not whether "the bread cast upon the waters" ever return; yet he knows that God, the infinite spendthrift, gives only of His own; nor does he take counsel whether the receiver deserves the gift, for God sends His rain upon the just and the unjust alike.

He listens to no wanton tales,[3] but seeks spiritual delights; and his own speech is of the aspirations of the soul.[4]

Manifesting thus in every act, in every word, in every disposition, and even in his silence, the evidences of intelligence, of efficiency, and of morality, the well-educated man proceeds to acquire the powers, the arts, and the graces of culture: he has built him a mansion, and would furnish it as a suitable residence for his soul. He needs the goodly furniture of the sciences, and the adornments of art: he needs to set in order within and without, in the gardens and in the galleries, all things that he has acquired: he needs philosophy. And not for a moment may he neglect the tenant of his body, which is his soul, nor the tenement of his soul, which is his body.

He will value truth and seek to acquire all truth in

[1] "To be disinterested is to be strong, and the world is at the feet of him whom it cannot tempt." Amiel, *Journal*.

[2] "Be charitable before wealth makes thee covetous, and lose not the glory of the mite. If riches increase, let thy mind hold peace with them." Sir Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals*, part i, § 5.

[3] "That wanton word will set a wanton heart on fire which a sober heart doth hear with pity as a kind of bedlam of speech." Richard Baxter, *Christian Ethics*, p. 368.

[4] "Cure fleshly desires and delights by spiritual desires and delights." *Op. cit.* p. 261.

relation and exactly; above truth, he will value beauty; and goodness above beauty,[1] aspiring after holiness as the farthest stage upon the journey toward perfection that finite man can reach.

Upon reason, he will always preserve the faith that hope may triumph over experience;[2] and he will never despair of the victory of right over wrong, of principle over expediency.

He will become pleasing in his excellencies, and not displeasing even in his faults.

He will rate wealth as fundamental, but only as that, never as final.

He will learn not to confuse fame with reputation or power with applause or property with personal desert or popular favor with genuine support, or indeed any thin or false appearance with the real fact or truth.

Because he is but one, he will not shuffle off responsibility, but will do what he can and all that he can, and calmly leave the event to God; rather because he is but one, he will really be one, integral, self-dependent, forthgoing, and substantial.[3]

He will learn that since God alone is finally responsible, even for himself, he is not to take too seriously the circumstances and events of life, for there is a cosmic weather beyond human control.[4]

Ignoring democracy, he will obey his real superiors, will advise and receive the advice of his equals, and will rule his inferiors, and, ignoring aristocracy, will seek to hold all men at their particular values.

[1] "Beauty is part of the finished language by which goodness speaks." George Eliot, *Romola*, chapter xix.

[2] Johnson, in Boswell, *Life of Doctor Samuel Johnson*.

[3] "Be substantially great in thyself, and more than thou appearest unto others: and let the world be deceived in thee, as they are in the lights of heaven." Sir Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals*, part i, § 19.

[4] "One on God's side is a majority." Wendell Phillips, *Brooklyn Speech*, Nov. 1, 1859.

He will fight evil in the world, whether it directly affects himself or not, knowing that the sorest evil of all evils is to become indifferent, insensible, callous.

He will forever believe that "somehow good shall be the final goal of ill;"[1] and will try so to interpret each evil; but he will never allow this belief to dull his own will to do right and to forestall and to overthrow wrong.

He will understand that life is a battle in which "the Son of man goes forth to war,"[2] and will not rejoice until the hour of peace after victory.

He will know that most desired results are the issue of long processes, and will gladly pay the price by labors in science to accumulate truth and in art to acquire skill; he will pay cheerfully the price in waiting also and in self-denial; he will measure his progress or his retrogression in this life of scientific research or artistic endeavor by the numbers and the quality of the difficulties upon his way.

He will play his part in every social institution, desiring to make his soul a microcosm of the cosmos, a true image of the world, and to find his own self in all the society of men: therefore will he belong to Family, to Church, to School, to State, even to Business, and in the hour of defense to War; and upon occasion such

[1] The line is from Tennyson; cf. Longfellow:—

"It is Lucifer;
The son of mystery;
And since God suffers him to be,
He, too, is God's minister
And labors for some good
By us not understood."

Cf. also Shakespeare:—

"There is some soul of good in things evil,
Would men observingly distil it out."

Henry V, iv, i, 4.

[2] Luther, *Hymn*, first line.

lesser institutions as serve the whole purpose of humanity; for he has eschewed narrowness to preserve growth, and will not dissipate his energies upon haphazard, but will centre them upon the enduring movements of the race.

He will love his wife[1] and his children beyond himself, finding his self-respect in entire devotion to those whom God has intrusted to him; moreover, he will love his kindred and his neighbors with an affection beyond any concern or interest for himself: and thus will he go about in the world a free man and unashamed.

Whatever light he gets he will use by taking it forward into the greater darkness.[2]

He will recognize discouragement as either physical fatigue or as "the sin of Lucifer."[3]

Whatever seems to him righteousness, that he will serve.[4]

And he will live beholding death before him not as an evil, because it cuts off hope;[5] nor yet as a mockery;[6]

[1] "And they twain shall be one flesh." Jesus, Mark, *Gospel*, x, 8, 9, quoting *Genesis*, ii, 24.

[2] "The light that we have gained was given us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things, more remote from our knowledge." Milton, *Prose Works*, vol. ii, p. 89.

[3] "Discouragement is but disenchanted egotism." Mazzini, *Works*, vol. vi, p. 25.

[4] "Who is there that in all things serveth righteousness with so great care as the world and its lords are served withal?" Coit, after Thomas à Kempis, *Imitation of Christ*, II, ii, 2, 3.

[5] Hazlitt, *Characteristics*, no. 35.

[6] "I dare not guess; but in this life
Of error, ignorance, and strife,
Where nothing is, but all things seem,
And we the shadows of the dream,
It is a modest creed, and yet
Pleasant, if one considers it,
To own that death itself must be,
Like all the rest, a mockery."
Shelley, *The Sensitive Plant*, Conclusion.

but as a consolation;[1] yes, as a victory;[2] and he will not die, but will be ready to pass into the different life, in the faith that it will be larger, fuller, and better.

[1] "Dark mother, always gliding near, with soft feet,
Have none chanted for thee a chant of fullest welcome?
Then I chant it for thee; I glorify thee above all;
I bring thee a song, that when thou must indeed come,
Come unfalteringly."

Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, p. 260.

[2] *Isaiah*, xxv, 8; Paul, I *Corinthians*, xv, 54.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LINE OF MARCH

> And I believed the poets; it is they
> Who utter wisdom from the central deep,
> And, listening to the inner flow of things,
> Speak to the age out of eternity.
>
> LOWELL, *Columbus*.

But to him that knoweth not the port to which he is bound, no wind can be favorable. — LEIGHTON, *Works*, vol. iv, p. 194.

The indwelling divinity that shapes the ends of human living appointed freedom to be the goal of human progress. — HORNE, *Philosophy of Education*, p. 135.

UPON the northern side of a lake in the heart of Maine there is a forest that in a significant manner reminds the city visitor of the civilization whence he came. One reaches this pathless tract of the woods by boat or canoe across the lake. Going ashore, one enters a thicket of little birches, pines, hemlocks, beeches, and chestnuts, the trees standing of all heights from shoots just out of the ground to saplings of ten or twelve feet. So dense is the thicket that one cannot see ten feet in any direction. The beauty of the green and yellow masses of young life in the sunshine of a summer's day is exhilarating. The very ground seems to exult in life. Over all shines the unbroken blue of the sky. Breasting one's way forward through the maze for a half-mile beyond the lake, one reaches a second wood. The scene is strangely transformed. Here are tall pines and hemlocks, clumps of chestnuts and of birches, and an occasional triumphant beech; and here are thousands of dead trees still standing, visible evidence that the warfare of the leaves for sunlight and of the roots for water has not been without victims as well as victors. As one looks about, the sadness of the forest life is oppressive. Upon

the ground, here and there, are patches of turf, where the sunlight of heaven still flickers down. A mile of this wood of the dead and the living, and one reaches the oldest wood. Here travel is free among the giant trees. Above, the sky is scarcely visible even in spots ; below is a soft carpet of moss. Brooks and rivulets are edged with ferns. Now and then one passes a ruin ; an old, overgrown, and rotted pine or chestnut or beech had caught the storm upon its mighty head, and had fallen in the death struggle. That handbreadth of open sky up there marks where this great white birch stood before the March gale uprooted it and threw it here. Its emulous brethren of the forest will soon fill in that sky-space. This wood is the last chapter of the warfare: the little dead trees of a century ago are but the rich mould that makes the ground soft to the tread of beast or man.

What caused these woods? Great fires ate up this and that stretch of the forest ; and seeds and spores in the ground came to life. The first wood is but four years old, the second is thirty, the third is older than the memory of man.

Like the trees in the woods are the men of the growing, spreading American town and city. In the early days of the city, upon some fortunate site by sea or lake, upon river or railroad, there are space, sunlight, food, and water for all, for there is equality of opportunity. But, after forty, ninety, two hundred years, there are classes of supreme individuals, — capitalists, landlords, professional men, politicians, — and masses of dependents, — tenants, wage-earners, parasites. The lords grow and grow. The serving-men cannot rise to the higher plane where the sunlight pours in floods. This is literally true. Imprisoned by the wage-rate, the price-range, and the standard of living, the proletarian cannot grow. The third state of the city is the worst. We do not yet see it in America; but Rome saw it in the Decline and

Paris saw it in the Revolution. The city is ruined utterly when it oppresses its provinces and colonies, overshadowing their lives and draining their food-supplies without return. It will make no difference whether the oppression takes the mode of political taxation and confiscation as it did in Rome, or the mode of seignorial and ecclesiastical exactions as in France, or the mode of economic exhaustion by rents and profits as it may yet do in America. The doom of a people is sealed when it is no longer profitable and joyous to live in the free air upon one's own land, eating the fruits of labor. We must get from the open country constant accessions of vigorous boys and girls, men and women; or perish. Wage-starved farm-laborers upon the machinery-cultivated farms of great capitalists cannot breed and rear competent American citizens. Such a day, when our cities shall be composed of privileged millionaires living in parks and palaces and of proletarians crowded into tenements, and when the country shall be a waste, is, of course, far off: it may never come. But it will come as certain as history is certain, unless we can solve the hitherto unsolved problem of securing in each generation *saecula saeculorum* a sufficient number of persons to maintain the civilization. It may be the will of God that no people shall ever solve the problem. It may be that it is best for mankind that, freed from all traditions, the light of culture shall move from people to people, until humanity itself shall pass utterly away.

However this may be, it still remains the duty of every thinker, of all the righteous, of the free in soul, to desire and to urge, whatever be the present social conditions, such an organization of society as encourages the development of perfect, not blighted, not starved human beings. The lone tree in the pasture, spreading vast branches into the sunlight, into the rain, into the gale, spreading into the soil vast roots that grip the rock,

typifies what every family should be. And how can such a family grow save by life upon land?

But in the real world of American men and women, how different is the typical condition of the family! How little has Nature, how much has Civilization ordered its life! When wages are high and work is steady, marriages increase and the birth-rate rises.[1] We owe our wives and our husbands, our children, our own lives, to the *social milieu*. The Acts of Congress, the decrees of the Church, the processes of trade, scientific discoveries and technical inventions, wars, heroisms, mostly silent, — these caused our being and condition us now. By them, we live; and by them, we die.

A city of nearly four hundred thousand souls lay at the junction of railroads and steamship lines. The earth quaked; and its buildings of steel or stone or wood fell like houses of cards. Fire, the transformer, the greatest blessing, the most terrible curse of man, came and ate up the ruins and what the earth-powers had spared. And four hundred thousand people were desolate. Tell the story to the men of ancient Nineveh; and they answer, "How save them?" and "Why save them?" How? By the thousand inventions of man since the people of Nineveh rotted away, leaving their houses and temples to be buried in the sands from the deserts. Consider these inventions, — iron, steel, tools, machinery, steam, electricity, telegraph, telephone, typewriter, the public army, federal government, medicine, credit. Why save the San Franciscans? Because in three thousand years these inventions have developed human gregariousness into world-wide social sympathy. This cosmo-

[1] Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Sociology*, p. 74. This fact is carefully to be discriminated from the more important fact that as communities and classes rise in culture both death-rates and birth-rates decline; and from another fact that poverty without hope is reckless in all respects, — marriage, births, diseases, deaths.

politanism has transformed the rivalry of many cities into commonwealth and enlarged into vast empires the regions of domestic peace.

To the city inhabitant of three thousand years ago as to the country primitive of to-day, the rescue of the San Franciscans would appear to be the work of superhuman beings, and the motives as well as the methods would be unintelligible. What we are very apt to forget is that the past and the primitive persist in the present so that to millions and millions of modern men, women, and children, the advanced life of the modern world is not understandable; and because it is not understandable, it is to them unknown. Only one of imaginative intellect can comprehend a tale or an exposition or a picture of that which one has not personally experienced.

There follows from this a practical application in education. The motive in education is to develop power to understand modern human life. This is the motive both of the pupil and of the educator. The pupil aspires to grow, the educator intends to nourish the growing soul of the pupil. In respect to the pupil, the material that is to be developed is his own soul; in respect to the educator, the materials to be supplied to the pupil are the facts and principles, that is, the truth, of the world of Nature and of the world of humanity that environ him. Most of the facts of the latter world and many of those of the other, some of the principles of human nature and most of those of the natural world are unworthy of intelligent, energetic, righteous, and merciful men and women. True civilization is progress away from Nature.[1] The survival of the fittest, warfare, brute force, sex-promiscuity, and uncounted other displays of the brute, civilized man is slowly discarding. Egoism is not dying, but is developing altruism, its counterpart, its mate. These are obverse and reverse of the solid shield. By

[1] "Man is Nature's rebel." Lankester, *Kingdom of Man*, p. 26.

their interaction, these forces generate humanity, and all its most active powers of mind and soul.

Not merely as a matter of abstract principle, but also, and very definitely, in the concrete actions and dispositions of individuals must Nature be rejected by sound human morality. I have seen in civilization so much of the bitterness of life, its cruelty, its brutishness, its pitilessness, its crass ignorance and vain pride, its abominations worse than any possible degradation of animalism; that at times civilization seems to me a refinement of the worst rather than of the best in man. Need I specify? I have known child-bearing wives to be beaten by husbands, fathers merrily carousing in dining-rooms when their own babies lay in caskets in parlors, children cuffed into insensibility and beaten with lead pipe into idiocy, elegant women luxuriating on the avenues upon the rents of slum tenements, and even of dens of infamy, city councils debauched that rich men might be yet richer and poor men be transformed into scoundrels, widows robbed by smug hypocrites, ambitious boys blocked in their progress, lovely girls ruined in ways beyond number and imagination, parents and near relatives abandoned to the cold mercy of the public; and what not? Nineveh has come again in New York and Chicago, and Sodom reappears in many a city. These things I know: I have not only read them in books, in newspapers, or in histories. The Boston of the eighteenth century would not know the morals of the Boston of to-day. All the world is changed. And we must face the crucial question, — Shall we leave the issue of virtue against vice to *laissez faire*, or shall we interfere? The old personal morality is not enough to solve these new questions. It may be that for his own soul's welfare, a Carnegie, a Rockefeller, a Vanderbilt, a Gould, a Field, or any other multimillionaire or millionaire, or for that matter any rich man, should sell all that he has and give to

the poor ;[1] but to do so would only ease his own burden of responsibility and convert a necessary callousness into a genuine tenderness toward humanity, for the misery of the world has become too great to be relieved by even a billion dollars or by a billion dollars' worth of goods. The ethical problems of to-day cannot be solved in this wise : perhaps they cannot be solved at all ; but if they can be solved, it must be by operation of the entire social machinery, by the effective functioning of all the social institutions, and by the development of yet new institutions. Persons are no longer enough. Particular societies and corporations are no longer enough. We need for the redemption of man all the vital, intellectual, emotional, and moral resources of society, directed by the institutions of Family, Church, State, School, all Arts and Cultures. From what is man to be redeemed ? From the renewed private feudal wars now known as Business, from all public wars of nations, and from the rebarbarization to which every generation inevitably tends from mere atavism and congenital ignorance. Let us not forget that minds and souls are wrecked by financial insolvencies and by financial plethoras, that bodies are destroyed in millions by poverty and rotted in thousands by luxury, that every war sets back the hands upon the clock of progress, and that sighings and tears and white, silent griefs are not yet gone out of the earth. There is still evil for the sake of ends ; and, worse, there is evil in sheer malice. Why ? Because, as every one knows, the agencies of good have not yet triumphed in the world over the agencies of evil ; to use theological terms, Christ has not yet overcome Satan. There is a love of God, a desire to return into the bosom of the Father, a longing of the finite to become once more a part, as I believe, a self-understanding and self-directing part, of the Infinite that can and does

[1] Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel*, xix, 21.

overcome the natural in man, for the spiritual is higher than the natural and can reduce and absorb it once more into itself. How? By regeneration as by conversion of individuals and by revolutions of peoples; and what is regeneration but return once more into the spirit?

In social conditions of ignorance and poverty, the fertile soils of the natural vices, and in social conditions of congested property in wealth, the fertile soil of the artificial vices, the ignorant and the poor multiply so fast as to endanger the stock of the race by reducing its quality while the intelligent and the rich persistently decrease in numbers; therefore, the masses increase and the leaders decrease. The chaos that sets in is lit only by hatreds and by ideals: which together generate thought and action. This road leads down into the hell of social revolution.[1] In this relation, education becomes the cure for civilization, and effects its cure in a variety of ways. The road of education, therefore, is the only road upon which a nation can travel safely forever; it is a true line of march. What is this road? To develop by education and to utilize by culture in civilization all the powers of every individual and to let nothing whatsoever interfere with so doing; this is a strait and narrow road, "the strait and narrow way" that leads to life, to ever more life. It means at once energy and restraint, faith and doubt, courage and caution, speech and silence, egoism and altruism, knowledge of this world and a sense of a world beyond, all things in just balance; in short, wisdom, health, and holiness. Few have found this way: no nation has ever followed it long. But those who find and follow it, of course, live forever; and the nation that finds and follows it will live as long as grass grows upon the earth.

[1] "When the emotions take side with the intellect, then comes the moral earthquake that destroys the existing order." Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 17.

We need not speak of this supreme matter altogether wholly in generalities. It means a low birth-rate, that every child may be well cared for, and a low death-rate, that all the possible good of each life shall be realized for other lives; but it means also a higher number of births than of deaths; that as long as the earth bears fruit abundantly, there shall be an increasing population to spur us on to effort. It means, in this particular matter, the redemption of women from too frequent child-bearing and too prolonged and too harassing care of children, that, in their full maturity after forty years of age, women as well as men may be free to contribute wealth and culture to the general store of riches and of knowledge.

It means the reconstruction of criminals by education, and the prevention of criminals by the proper feeding, housing, and schooling of children.

It means universal homes.

It means the subordination of government, of business, and every other social activity of the present adults to the higher race interests of the young.[1]

It means the conquest of the human mind by a new ideal, the highest as yet conceived, — the employment of this life as the means to a later, larger life; in another phrase, education as religion; and in yet another phrase, man as always the offspring of God. For it converts life into a university, a school of exceeding many and various opportunities radiating from one idea, — the possibility of a "far-off divine event" for each one of us.

This is no new idea. It is not a new ideal. It is, however, a most noteworthy illustration of the truth that seers prevision the ages of the remote future, for this ideal of Moses, of Isaiah, of Ezekiel, of Amos, and of

[1] "The greatest single factor in the development of the social and emotional aspects of morality is the natural selection of stocks that show increasing care for offspring." Tufts, "On Moral Evolution," in *Studies in Philosophy and Psychology* (Garman Memorial).

Jesus has now become the common opinion of men: the thinkers have at length converted the multitude. We do not ask now whether an age of righteousness is desirable or how it is obtainable; we know that it is desirable and that it is obtainable by education. Our inquiry is solely how to bring universal education, which is universal religion, into reality. For this extraordinary age is a congeries of the heavens of which men have been dreaming in various lands throughout all history. The American is living in a new Jerusalem come down out of the heaven of spiritual life upon the earth of material things. It is not a perfect Jerusalem, for the perfect is ever before us, beckoning. And the great discovery is that there never was chaos, but always an eternally evolving cosmos.[1] The most substantial are the immaterial principles, — the laws, the forces, the processes by which the earth is ribbed with rocks, the stars proceed in their courses, and the minds of men search after God.

This procedure, therefore, — by which the physical is transformed into the psychical, by which the bodily activity of men becomes intelligent; their intelligent activity becomes efficient in the production of material things, the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life; their material wealth necessitates morality; their moral disposition involves them in serious, scientific inquiry into the realities of Nature; their science persists until it bases and bulwarks their arts; their life of art becomes self-conscious in philosophy; and their philosophy directs them to desire wholeness and unity of conduct, of soul, of the life personal and social, — this procedure from ignorance to wisdom is a formal and the normal evolution of man, which evolution is education.

Man becomes, then, his own supreme art-product, the maker of himself. Nature, which produces man and destroys him accidentally, it would seem, and recklessly, is

[1] Duncan, *The New Knowledge*, part vii, chapter v.

conquered. There is no more death, but only life after life. Reason, which is the true nature of the soul, its reality, is the victor over all the enemies of life.

"This world is God's workshop"[1] wherein He makes men for life elsewhere. To know this is to enter here upon the life eternal.

[1] Beecher, *Proverbs from Plymouth Pulpit: Manhood.*

CHAPTER XXV

THE MEANING OF LIFE

Life is a warfare and the sojourn of a stranger. — MARCUS AURELIUS, *Thoughts*, ii, 17.

Not to look onwards to the ideal life of man is to deny our birthright of mind. — JEFFERIES, *Pageant of Summer*.

Adjustment has two sides. In one respect, it relates to the modification effected in the individual in order to suit itself to the external conditions of its environment. In the other respect it relates to the modifications effected in the environment to suit it to the individual. — HARRIS, Preface, p. vi, in Judd, *Genetic Psychology for Teachers*.

The only thing that is good is the Living Love that wills the blessedness of others. This is the true Good-in-itself, sought by all men. All things else — resolves, sentiments, actions, tendencies — share with this only derivatively the name of Good. Neither a realm of Truth nor a realm of Worth is prior as the initial reality. To finite cognition, the one unfolding movement of this reality appears in the three aspects of the good that is its end, the constructive impulse by which this end is attained, and the conformity to law that keeps the impulse in the path to that end. All the moral commands that, as sharply defined maxims, attract our attention are but a mechanism devised for its own realization by Creative Love. To this mechanism belong the universal, the class, and the state of things, — mere schemes for the establishment of truth and of order. Where we cannot reconcile the goodness and the omnipotence of God, there our finite intelligence has come to the limit of its tether; yet we may believe a solution exists, though we may not understand it. The true reality is and forever ought to be not Matter, and still less Idea, but the living personal spirit of God and the various personal Spirits of His creation. — LOTZE, *Microcosmus* (abridged, Hamilton-Jones's translation), pp. 717, 721–727.

"GLAD to go hence." Such is the verdict of most of the persons who have sat at the bedside of the dying, the verdict in all ages and lands, the verdict of ministers, physicians, counselors, and friends upon both men and women, "Glad to go hence." Here surely is matter for reflection and conclusion. Few men are afraid of death[1] as the battlefields and workshops of the world attest. Still less do women, staking life at every birth, fear death.

[1] "For the fear of death is indeed the pretense of wisdom, and not real wisdom, being a pretended knowledge of the unknown; and no one knows whether death, which men in their fear apprehend to be the greatest evil, may not be the greatest good. Is there not here conceit of knowledge, which is a disgraceful kind of ignorance?" Plato [Socrates], *Apology*, i, 327 (after Jowett).

But we do not desire it.[1] We have accepted as a matter of common sense, of religion, and of philosophy alike the maxim of Bias, "So ought we to mete out this life as those who will live both much and little." Born without choice, we accept life as fate and are happiest in our reconciliation to our fate, whatever be its form.[2]

This acceptance is not confined to the working masses or to the leisure classes, but is common to all men; and it is as desirable as it is common. It must not be confused with any proposed acceptance of some particular lot in life, which is neither common nor desirable. In this distinction lies the entire problem of education, both personal and social, for as there is an education of the individual, so by the way of the education of many individuals is there also an education of society.

Usually caught and fastened inextricably in the institutions, customs, conditions, and traditions of environing humanity, the individual sees in death release from all his difficulties. It becomes to him, as it were, an absolution. Moreover, he sees in death the possibility of a new start, for he has learned that to escape from the snares, the traps, and the pitfalls that Nature and humanity set in the way of every man, one needs powers beyond those actually possessed. In the life after death, he sees the possibility of possessing these greater powers, for men are not blind to the fact that success is merely a balance between difficulties and skills. Life is a battle, — he fails who cannot defeat circumstances, whose powers do not match his opportunities, for every situation is an opportunity. Consequently, our desire is not for easier situations, but for more insight, skill, energy, endurance, courage, in dealing with them; for more

[1] The last words of Henry Ward Beecher were, "Now comes the mystery." This expresses the common sense of millions who, conscious, die in peace.

[2] Rosenkranz, *Philosophy of Education*, final chapter.

income, not for less expenditure; for more life, not for less experience. Therefore, as soon as we know what education is, we desire it: knowing that undeveloped talent is like iron in the ore under ground and hoping that in us is the talent waiting discovery, development, and use.

By its faith that in most men are talents awaiting discovery, development, and preparation for use, — the iron to be made into structural steel and the gold into current coin of exchange, — democracy celebrates humanity, is the religion of humanity; and establishes the school as the church or temple of this religion. But democracy is not yet fully self-conscious, or entirely established, or altogether victorious over its foes. Therefore, the school is incomplete, imperfectly evolved, not yet transformed from the image in which it was originally built. Nor as yet have enough able men worked out the solution of the problem of how much universal education really should accomplish. Nor does democracy quite understand or perfectly support the school in which this education is to be accomplished. Nor do we yet comprehend that for each one of us the entire meaning of life is education, nothing else being comparably worth while.

Life is the end-in-itself, a centre with a circumference beyond the horizons of finite vision, a centre of a circle whose limits may no man set, a centre of a sphere revolving yet permanent in the universe of God; but all the while an end-in-itself, all the while both forth-looking and introspective, the eternal contradiction of getting by giving, because this is the manner of life fashioned and followed by God Himself, of whom we know nothing whatever more than this, that because He is whole, one, perfect, He made us like Himself, being unable to do otherwise.

This, then, is education, to reach out, to go forth, to

give ; and thereby to grow. And, therefore, we hate whatever confines us, often failing to see that such confinement may very well be for the purpose of causing us to develop in the round, harmoniously, completely, rather than to grow narrow, discordant, incomplete. Prohibition, inhibition, sorrow, struggle, self-examination : these are the price of self-consciousness, of personality, of the education of the spirit. The method of God in making a man is evidently to be thorough ; to make not a mist or a shadow, but a solid.

By none of the foregoing am I to be understood as defending for a moment or by a single word the evil that I know in the world ; or even to say that in the particular instance, I understand it. Nor do I underestimate it, being inclined to see evil rather than good. But I will not disfigure these pages with the catalogue of these evils under the sun. There is iniquity that literally is infamous, not to be spoken, certainly not to be printed.[1] I am entirely unable to understand the callous willingness to be rich amid poverty, innocently good amid vice, cheerfully learned amid ignorance ; but I can imagine that for reasons sufficient to Himself God establishes this present order of human society as a necessary stage toward a higher order. "It must needs be that offences come ; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh."[2]

To assert that the whole world is but a school and that the entire meaning of life is education is not at all to assert that all life is to be spent in school or even in education directly by others : but it involves asserting

[1] The warning of Paul of things not to be named set a new example in the world : true to the psychology of suggestion and true to the necessary progress of mankind in decency and in charity. *Romans, Corinthians, passim.*

[2] Jesus, Matthew, *Gospel*, xviii, 7. Particularly did the Master condemn one who sins against "little ones" : — "better that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the depth of the sea."

that the importance of the School is far greater than even democratic society yet realizes. Education directed in schools short-circuits experience, anticipates and prepares for difficulties, and elevates as well as solidifies the soul for larger and higher usefulness; but it cannot develop non-existent power, nor can it serve as substitute for the realities of the life outside of School, the life in the School being, however, as much a reality as any other.

In this view, the School is a continuing institution: one no more "leaves off" education than religion or government. As the courts of government are always open for civil litigation and for criminal trial; as legislation is periodical, and administration continual; as the churches of religion hold regular and frequent sessions; as every other social institution is for adults as well as youth: so the schools of education and of culture, its second power, will always be open, and to them from time to time men and women will resort for special preparation for the new opportunities of society or for larger preparation for the old. The individual will go in and out of the School when occasion offers, as matter of course, realizing, not merely knowing or perhaps but imagining, that in this manifold, multiform civilization, which progresses in complexity and in specialization with a rapidity beyond the dreams of yesterday,[1] the useful man must in education equal the demands and the privileges of his times. And the schools of education will multiply their forms, their courses, and their buildings, and will improve their methods, their personnel, and their organization to meet the social needs. Especially will the higher and the special schools — the universities, the institutes, the trade schools — improve and increase. Ever the rate of increase will grow until education catches up with civilization and conforms to the full

[1] Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, vol. i, p. 2.

requirements of society: that State, Church, School, Family, Industry, and Culture shall be equal and coördinate universal institutions, and that each individual shall be fully prepared to do all really that he was born with the possible ability to do for God and for humanity. It is this that is coming to pass, this that is breaking up the present transitional economic régime, this that is the noblest aspiration to keep men alive and joyous in an age of vast trouble, of excessive change, and of straining readjustment; for this enters into the heart of the meaning of life, which is that, in this passage in Time and Space, Society and Nature shall help the individual on his way through the eternities and the infinities.

The meaning of life may be explicated by reviewing the cyclorama of its institutions and the history of its processes. Taking the facts as they are as evidence that so God wills them to be, and believing that as far as they injure neither the individual nor society they must be good, we must agree that the true life is always the life that shares most largely and freely in all their good.[1] Such a review has been attempted in these pages, with an evaluation of the good things of life. The review and evaluation are suggested as logical consequence of the idea of universal education.

All the world is being created, corrected, and developed by ideas. Each new idea is a revelation. Plato, who appears to have discovered this truth, made thereby a most important contribution to the thought of man. These truths express the infinite and are, therefore, essentially incomprehensible by the finite. They are not, however, for this cause incredible. From the finite as from a window, the human spirit looks out upon the infinite.

In this book is organized an idea not wholly new. By

[1] Henderson, *Education and the Larger Life*, p. 370.

bringing the latent into apparent reality, the potential into manifest power, education converts the possibility of each human being into actuality, lifts the child, otherwise a mere instrument of the natural forces of body and of soul, to the higher levels of personal and social culture, and thereby maintains civilization. A sound civilization tenderly cherishes education as its life-blood. Education that achieves its end, which is preparation for living at one's best, is formal and independent and can be realized only by a formal and independent social institution, performing this function in a certain isolation from all other social institutions. In this form, the School constitutes a complete idea; and the idea itself takes on a certain newness that this book endeavors to explain.

The idea of education as a perfectly differentiated, completely integral, and absolutely independent social institution appears rational and therefore authoritative. Making no appeal to sentiment, emotion, or enthusiasm, this idea seems to possess the intellectual power of organizing the disorganized facts, principles, customs, and traditions as expressed in the various schools of today. It appears to be critical only that it may be constructive. Moreover, it withdraws from the field of conflict between those varied confused interests of mankind which are not yet integrated as social institutions, our most precious interests, — our concern for posterity, and our desire that our own product and record shall not perish. And it seems also to interpret the true relations of education to the good and to the evil of civilization: the good it repeats and multiplies, the evil it encysts, corrects, or destroys.

Again, this idea crowns with appropriate dignity what should be for civilized mankind a universal enterprise. History warrants the opinion that, in the absence of such dignity, education has failed to do for earlier civil-

izations a work absolutely essential to their preservation. This work is to conspire with Nature in developing a sufficient number of sufficiently competent persons to maintain the particular civilization. And yet again this idea conforms to the modern faith that it is possible to find and to develop in youth many powers of body and of soul not suspected, even denied, by merely superficial observers. In other words, the idea is generally democratic and, therefore, appeals to the highest article in the faith of man in humanity developed through generations of undiscoverable number. By the universal, independent, systematic school, democracy intends seriously to help each and every individual to realize the most of himself, society the most of itself, and humanity as much as possible of its inherited, inheritable, and attainable likeness to God.

Finally, the idea permits an evaluation and appreciation of the motives, methods, and machinery of education that is impossible while the School is conceived as but a partial, dependent, subordinate, mediate, and in a certain aspect despised affair that concerns children only.[1] By unity, the School assumes force and develops energy; it therefore becomes plainly what hitherto only a few have desired, the copartner with religion, government, and family in establishing the intelligence, activity, and morality of mankind.

This School is as yet only an idea, and we cannot criticise its actual working. However, it is a noteworthy and highly estimable quality of every idea that it anticipates reality and interprets it in the light of the truth that shall be. In the ideal worlds of the novelist, of the poet, and of the philosopher are set forth and solved

[1] This other, old idea is the familiar one of the books. I am not writing a polemic: if I were, I would cite a score of such books. I desire only to present an argument, — a white reasoning. If it gives light, I shall be glad: I hope that it gives no heat.

many human problems; and the solutions are more clear than those of actual life, and quite as final. Moreover, such solutions save many experiments. As Plato taught us, without the idea no thing and no relation of things have ever been or ever possibly can be. It is this, that, as Aristotle showed, lifts ideal truth above actuality and constitutes metaphysics as the cause of all the physical. Not less does modern thought assert that the physical or spiritual in man, Nature, and God transcend, condition, and create the physical or material.

As for the working-out of the idea into actuality, what is offered here is only by way of suggestion and prognostication. The idea is already very common. Ten thousand minds are working it over; all the millions who are living in civilization are making it into history. This book at most brings the theme into the consciousness of many for consideration, discussion, and deliberate action.

I have endeavored to reduce to concrete terms many opinions that otherwise would be general and therefore vague, basing my effort upon the law of Delbœuf, which may be summarized as follows: "Any phenomena, not translated into numbers, always leave on the mind the effect of mysticism." [1] I have endeavored also to express my opinions in accordance with the law of Lotze, which he stated in these terms: "How absolutely universal is the extent, how entirely subordinate the mission that mechanism plays in the world." In short, I have tried to show that complete education prepares for a completely organized society with an increasing number and variety of social institutions and relations.

The individual as a man must not be subordinated (helplessly adjusted) to society as an institution, but by exercise in it must be made sufficiently superior to society to be able to contribute to its life and progress.

[1] Quoted by Titchener, *Experimental Psychology*, vol. ii, title-page.

The typical period for such education is from ten to twenty years of age and must be observed for all.

The missing factor in all former civilizations (which have uniformly perished) has been universal education of the youth, both boys and girls, some for leadership, most for intelligent and hearty fellowship and following. That factor we should supply. All studies, exercises, and regimens must be evaluated in terms of their contributions to the building of the bodies and of the minds (or souls) of men for work and for happiness as social beings on this earth and as individual lives passing from eternity to eternity.

Intellect, emotion, will, the three modes of mind, may be likened to a line of wire, forming a triangle; through the wire passes life like an electric current; at each angle, a relay battery (as it were of vitality from the body) sends new life into the circuit. The losses of life along the intellection stretch are due to incomplete or abandoned ideas; along the emotion stretch, to diffused or rejected affections; along the conation stretch, to inherited or dissipated impulses. This mechanical analogy permits ideas to be considered as passing into affections; affections into intentions; intentions into ideas; ideas into intentions; intentions into affections; affections into ideas. It also (mechanically) relates body to mind. Again, the doctrine here of the psychophysical parallelism is substantially this: Bodily vigor is a current of water, as it were, flowing at varying rates, in varying widths and depths, while mental activity is a current of air, as it were, above the bodily current, resting upon it, and moving at varying rates, frictionally influenced in consciousness, in subconsciousness, and in unconsciousness by the current upon which it rests. From conception to death, soul and body are continually associated; nor does man know which current is originally sprung from the other, or whether or not in origin and in end

they are or are not one. At death, the bodily force may pass with the spiritual from the material body; as indeed both forces may enter at conception.

One may not deliberately take partial views of education and retain the integrity of his soul. In this book, therefore, I have spoken freely of political, religious, economic, and cultural society, and of the conditions of the personal life. It is valueless to think of education save in terms of the ideal. To educate for society as it is is not to educate, but to habituate, and, at least in some part, to inoculate with the virus of indifferentism.[1] One who is so instructed as to believe that everything that is in himself, in others, and in society is right, must be immune to virtues, to ideals, and to righteousness, and callous towards pity and charity. Against the stoicism of the educational schools that accept this world as their lord, I raise this protest.[2]

In the terms of ideals, I cite six as absolute: intelligence, efficiency, morality, science, art, and philosophy; these seem to form an ascending scale. The first three seem to be absolutely essential to education, the last three to culture.

As the physician discharges his patient when cured, so the educator should discharge his pupil only when educated. Moreover, as the physician is ready always to prescribe and to care for his patient, so the educator should always be ready to receive and to assist his pupil. The graduation of the School must be made synchronous with the completion of the formal education,

[1] "The first task of every school is to educate the child, not to prepare for life." Hughes, *The Making of Citizens*, p. 391.

[2] The world as lord is the standard of hypocrites and of men-of-the world alike. They masquerade in all guises: but they uncover to one test. "Now is the accepted time [for reform]: now is the day of salvation." And they (whom Jesus perfectly understood) reply, "Yes, things should be better, but —" And thereby they lose their own souls. And sincere men and men-of-all-time can only grieve for them and pass on to duty.

but it should not be synonymous with complete education, a thing impossible before senility sets in. Such an achievement over the poverty, the ignorance, and the malice of many means yet a long campaign, with hard fighting.

Incidentally, all lay boards of control for educational affairs will be done away; and the School under professional control will rise coördinate with the Church. A similar change will take place in the State, in which the laity will control only in financial matters. Legislation as well as education is an affair for experts to devise; and for the people to accept or to reject by accepting or rejecting the legislators themselves, as they accept or reject physicians, lawyers, and ministers in the free churches.

The School differentiated from other social institutions and so integrated can face seriously the question, "Whether among national manufactures that of souls of a good quality may not at last turn out a quite leadingly lucrative one."[1] It will enable society to free itself from the lost "little ones," who are a "misery to themselves, a misery to the community, a disgrace to civilization, and an outrage on Christianity,"[2] and who degenerate into the criminals, the prostitutes, the adventurers, the paupers, and the lunatics, perilous to themselves and to all of us.

The more we do for the school, the more we shall expect from it: and the more we expect from it, the more we should do for it. American society has now reached the question whether many of its evils have become too great to be considered negligible any longer or are remediable by education extended far beyond the present range. Remedied they must be, unless the decline be allowed to set in.

[1] Ruskin, *Unto this Last*, § 40. In the light of all our "new knowledge," this proposition is no longer fanciful, but has become obligatory as the first business of mankind.

[2] Dickens, *The Uncommercial Traveller*.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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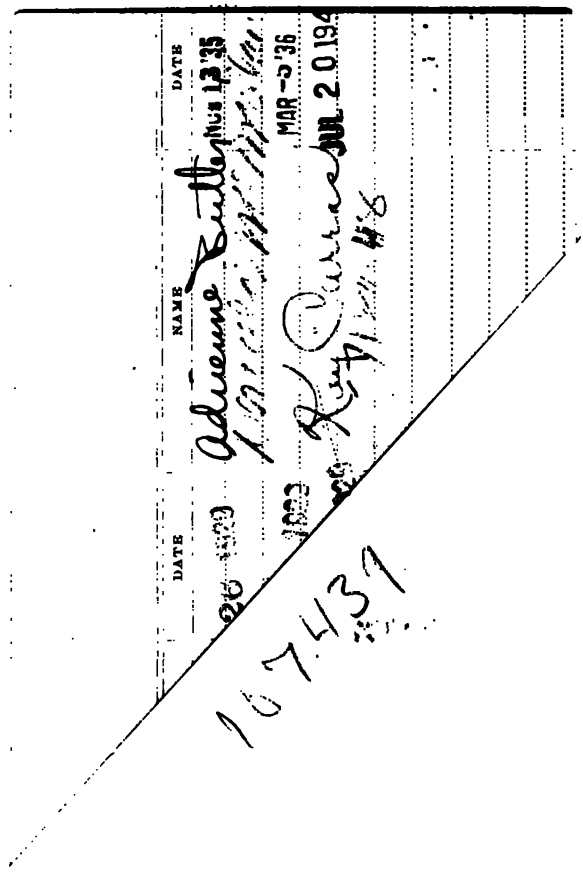
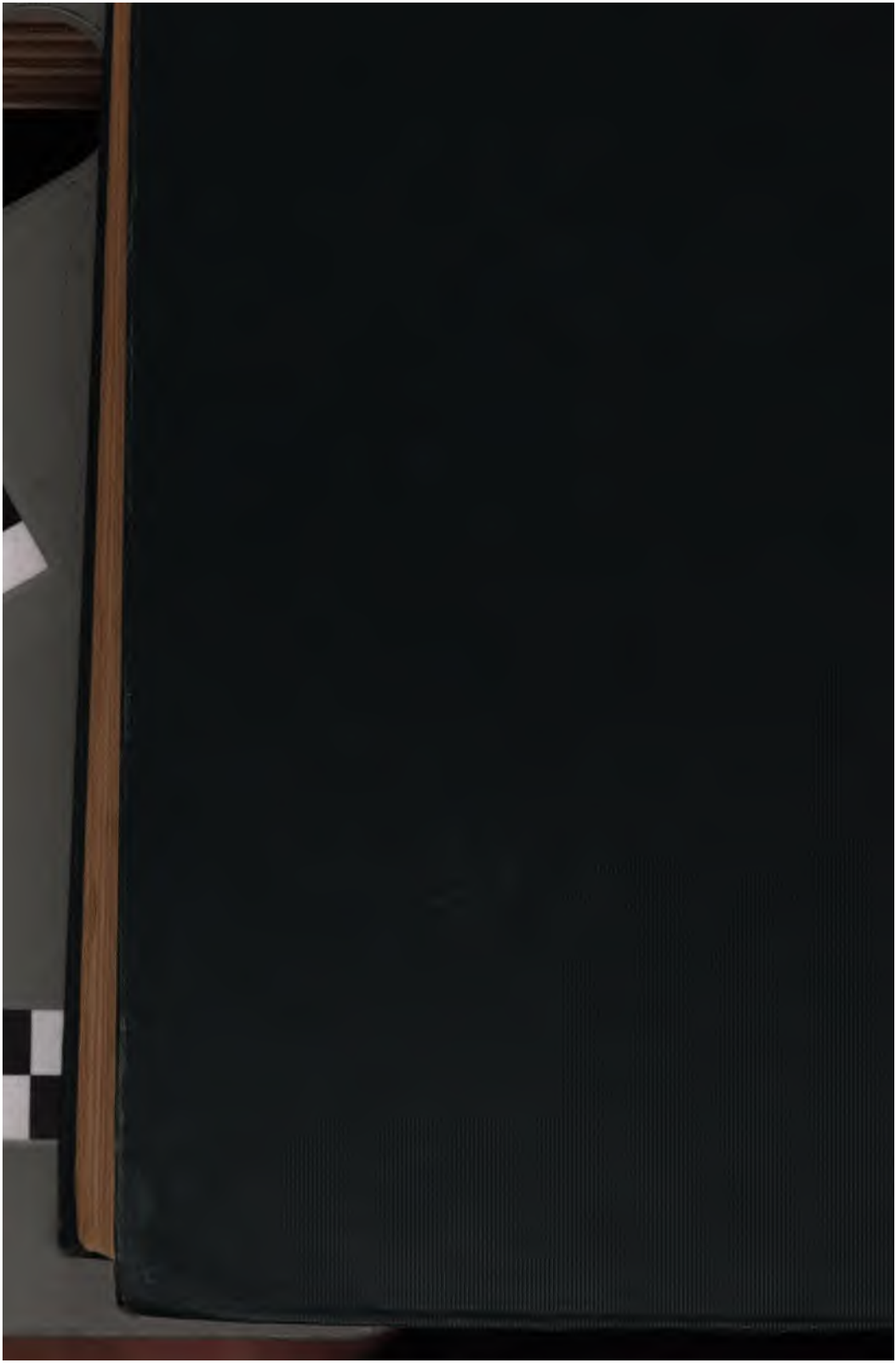
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